The Nation.

BAGHDAD BURNS, CALGARY BOOMS
Naomi Klein

THE POLONIUM PAPERS
Edward Jay Epstein

CINDY SHEEHAN'S FAREWELL
John Nichols

THE ABSTINENCE GLUTTONS
Michael Reynolds

FORTY YEARS OF OCCUPATION

TWO WAILING WALLS

MERON BENVENISTI
SAREE MAKDISI
BRIAN KLUG

JUNE 18, 2007
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LETTERS

R.O. BLECHMAN

GREENMAIL

In response to our May 7 special issue, "Surviving the Climate Crisis," readers suggested remedies like installing solar panels in the median strips of all Interstates, requiring a "green" roof on every flat-topped building, investigating "artificial photosynthesis," dumping the combustion engine and opening up debate on nuclear power. Several complained that we did not cite overpopulation as the main threat to the planet and that the Nation *cruise is not a green endeavor.*

Davis, Calif.

■ Kudos to *The Nation* for pointing out how timid industry and government have been in responding to the green power challenge. California, Oregon, Montana and Massachusetts are struggling to take back the power by establishing publicly owned utilities. Pacific Gas and Electric spent more than $15 million on elections to kill the effort of the Coalition for Local Power to annex 70,000 electric meters from PG&E to the publicly owned Sacramento Municipal Utility District. The latter charges 30 percent less than PG&E and has installed twice as much wind capacity per capita. Here in Davis, more than 60 percent voted to support our public power revolution, a testimony to the ten years of grassroots organizing that inoculated the electorate against PG&E's Big Lies. DAN BERMAN

Fairfield, Iowa

■ The Iowa Farmers Union has pointed out that C-BED (Community-Based Economic Development) laws can support community and local ownership of wind energy resources. C-BED has generated nearly $1 billion in proposed economic development in Minnesota, where it is now law. C-BED is a way to help keep renewable energy profits in our rural areas rather than letting outside investors extract resources and profits. And it will help provide long-term, reasonably priced electricity. Big energy firms and utilities will likely be pressuring legislators to kill C-BED in states that don't have it. We should not let them do this. Renewable energy's benefits should go to rural communities.

PATRICK BOSOLD

Lowell, Mass.

■ James Hansen correctly points out that we need new building energy-efficiency standards because buildings, particularly residences, are responsible for nearly 50 percent of US CO_2 emissions. But with almost 90 million residential and 5 million commercial buildings, it will take too long for energy-efficient buildings to replace older, inefficient structures. We need a national program to raise awareness and provide aggressive tax incentives and long-term, low-interest loans to home and small business owners to encourage retrofitting buildings. We must make existing buildings more energy efficient to have short-term impacts on the problem of global warming. DAVID TURCOTTE

Center for Family, Work, and Community

Seattle

■ Doug Henwood contrasts cap-and-trade systems with carbon taxes for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Actually you can get the best of both by giving "tradable carbon allowances" to individuals and taxing the "trades." That is, everyone gets a fixed carbon allowance, decreased annually. Then individuals who use less than their allowance get to sell their excess to those who need more. A sales tax on these transactions would finance both major projects and individual investments toward a lower carbon future. The amazing thing is the social equity bonanza. Suddenly the more radical the carbon reduction goals, the more money into the pockets of the struggling classes. It says a lot about the sorry state of US politics that the current champion of this concept is not someone like Al Gore but British Secretary for the Environment David Miliband. DICK BURKHART

Jacksonville, Fla.

■ George Monbiot is absolutely right that jet travel is bad news for the planet. A sensible transport policy would relegate air travel to a high-cost, long-distance market niche, as was the case until the 1960s. High Speed Rail (HSR) is part of the answer. Rail generally is a third as fuel intensive as motor freight (forget air freight), less noisy, safer, takes less land and is extremely efficient. It shifts market share away from dirty air and road travel, because HSR can move lots of people in a timely way. Indeed, HSR regularly decimates air usage wherever it is introduced. Amtrak's Acela service is the number-one carrier in the Boston–DC corridor (perhaps accounting for US air carriers' political pressures to kill off Amtrak).

STEVEN PILLA

COCKBURN: CLIMATE ICONOCLAST

A tsunami of mail decrying Alexander Cockburn's first two "Beat the Devil" columns on global warming [May 14 and 28] hit us with subscription cancellations and such epithets as: "rubbish," "April Fool's joke?" "an embarrassment," "please tell me this is a satire," "claptrap from Senator Inhofe and the oily boys," "an example of how a little knowledge and a lot of arrogance is a dangerous combination," "like being data-mugged by a LaRouchie on the way to the grocery," "on a par with Rush Limbaugh's regurgitation of Exxon-Mobil global warming–denier propaganda."

Readers should know, from our recent special issue on the climate crisis as well as articles and editorials over many years, that the editors of The Nation *support the greenhouse-gas theory of global warming, in keeping with the overwhelming preponderance of scientific opinion as expressed in peer-reviewed journals and data review by international panels. In contrast, many of Cockburn's most contentious assertions in his recent columns came from unpublished papers. But readers should also know that our columnists choose their own topics and approaches. Here are some of your letters.* —*The Editors*

Woodland Park, Colo.

■ Thank heavens Alexander Cockburn has the technical expertise to alert us to this dastardly plot about global warming. Those sleazy climate scientists. Why do they hate America so much?

JAMES J. AMATO

Boston

■ I look forward to Alexander Cockburn's treatment of intelligent design, and I am sure there's a chapter or two of the Flat Earth Society that could use his support. ROBERT A. MOESER

Old Greenwich, Conn.

■ I cannot believe my eyes. Finally, someone is getting it right. A very big "thank you" goes out to Alexander Cockburn. He is dead on in his assessment of the greenhouse global warming theory! Bravo! BILL EVANS

Meteorologist, WABC-TV New York

Plainfield, NH

■ Having studied global warming for nearly thirty years, I'm constantly amazed at how otherwise thoughtful people can be bamboozled into thinking it's a hoax. The story usually goes much like Cockburn's. They meet someone (with a PhD!) who's trained in some aspect of science and while on an airplane (or a cruise, in Cockburn's case), they get the straight dope. It doesn't matter what the world's leading scientific organizations have found—that the twenty-fold increase in fossil fuel combustion since 1800 is the main factor in the warming now occurring. No! Cockburn has met one Martin Hertzberg (PhD!), whose stint as a Navy meteorologist "gave him a lifelong mistrust of climate modeling." So Hertzberg, and now Cockburn, can take a pass on reading all the peer-reviewed literature.

As for Cockburn's central thesis—that atmospheric CO_2 concentrations are steadily rising even when emission rates are erratic (itself a specious argument)—I suggest Cockburn and

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EDITORIALS

The Honeymoon Is Over

As Congress left town for its Memorial Day recess, the euphoria cast by the 2006 election victories was gone. Disappointed by the Democrats' inability to force a withdrawal timeline into the war-funding bill, angered by a trade deal hatched in secret, dismayed at backsliding on cleaning up Capitol Hill, progressives were faced with the unpleasant reality of the new Congress, warts and all.

The slim Democratic majority in both Houses is not a progressive majority. Just as distressing as the cave-in on war funding was the continued power of the bipartisan money party. Beyond ending the war, Democrats were elected because of popular rejection of corporate trade policies and the stench of corruption in Washington. Tom DeLay is gone, but the corporate lobbies just reloaded with Democrats. When the House leadership announced a trade accord that the Chamber of Commerce celebrated as a model for giving Bush renewed fast-track authority, hopes for a new economic course were punctured. Then, House Democrats wouldn't support even a two-year hiatus that would slow the revolving door between Congress and the lobby world. ("That's our retirement plan," complained anonymous legislators.)

Progressives mobilized to help House Speaker Nancy Pelosi pass the 100-hour agenda in the opening weeks of this Congress. The first increase in the minimum wage in a decade has finally been signed into law, but Senate barons have delayed or interred the remainder of her agenda. The drug lobby mobilized sufficient opposition from senators in both parties to deep-six efforts to empower Medicare to negotiate lower prescription-drug prices. Rollback of oil-company subsidies is stalled in disagreements between the two houses. And House Democrats have seemingly lost their nerve on rolling back Bush's social agenda: Two bills to eliminate abstinence-only funding are now on hold, with fewer sponsors this year than last (for an eye-opening investigative report on the corruption of abstinence funding, see Michael Reynolds's article on page 18). Even halving interest rates on student loans—a no-brainer given both the need and the scandals among lending companies—has been hung up because the Senate grandees wouldn't pass the House version.

These disappointments lead some to consider giving up on this Congress. That would be a mistake. The new majorities aren't the sterling champions some had hoped for, but they aren't the knaves we booted out, either. The backsliding and reversals remind us that the 2006 election victories are only the first step down a long road. We need progressive, not just Democratic, majorities to enact real change and reform: ending the war, driving toward clean energy, fixing healthcare, pushing for a living wage, creating an entirely new trade strategy that puts people above corporations. Republican legislators have backed Bush on the war and have frustrated even minor reforms. They boast about scoring partisan points while ignoring the public interest. They must be held accountable for that. Conservative Democrats who still don't understand the scope of the debacle in Iraq or of the growing revolt against Wall Street's tax-and-trade policies have to be challenged in their own districts.

Democratic majorities have provided us with relatively progressive leaders in both houses of Congress and several aggressive committee chairs who are beginning to unearth the hidden horrors of this rogue Administration. But we still don't have the progressive strength in Congress or the leadership in the White House that can change this country's course. The serial disappointments of recent weeks are but a reminder that we've got work to do.

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Endless Occupation?

This month marks the fortieth anniversary of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. It will not escape readers' notice that the three writers who reflect on the occasion in this issue, although coming from widely different backgrounds and perspectives—Meron Benvenisti is a native-born Israeli and former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, Saree Makdisi is a Palestinian-American academic and Brian Klug is a British (and Jewish) Oxford philosopher—express a similar pessimism regarding the two-state solution. Each of them favorably discusses some form of binational or democratic state in all of Israel-Palestine, whose citizens would have equal rights or shared sovereignty.

Nation editors didn't seek out these conclusions, nor do they represent a change in our policy. For many years this magazine has supported a two-state solution in which Israel would fully withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967, in accordance with UN resolutions, and a State of Palestine would be formed in those territories, with its capital in East Jerusalem. But we recognize that as realities on the ground shift, so must our thinking. Many have begun to wonder whether partition is still possible, given the growing settlements in the West Bank; the collapse of the peace process; the hardening of Israeli attitudes in the face of a second, bloody intifada; the descent of the Palestinian national camp into fratricide; and the unwillingness or inability of the Bush Administration to re-engage in serious peace talks or even to recognize the democratically elected Palestinian government.

But to abandon the two-state solution, as a way out of today's seemingly insuperable barriers, doesn't so much answer questions as raise new ones. The chief difficulty is perhaps in popular reception, from both Israelis and Palestinians: While a large percentage of Israelis—anywhere from 40 to 60 percent, depending on when and how they're asked—support a two-state solution, 95 percent or more viscerally, emphatically oppose both the binational and secular democratic models. The mainstream of the Palestinian liberation movement, for its part, has for three decades supported the two-state solution, and even the Islamist Hamas has indicated that it would acquiesce. As with the Israelis, there's no real political constituency in the Palestinian community for the binational or democratic model, just support from a certain, if growing, number of intellectuals. Also, the Palestinian case for a separate, independent state is supported by a vast body of international law and many UN resolutions. If the movement were to abandon that model of national liberation in favor of participation as equal citizens in one state or a binational polity, it would weaken these legal and diplomatic defenses, and the overwhelming consensus of the international community, in favor of the unknown.

And while the chances for a two-state solution look particularly bleak now, circumstances can change rapidly. Witness the 2005 disengagement from Gaza: Apocalyptic settler resistance was predicted, and yet it came off without a hitch. Disengagement might have been a cynical ploy on Ariel Sharon's part to forestall negotiations, but it did seem to break the back of the Greater Israel movement. In its wake, some 50 percent of West Bank settlers have indicated their willingness to return to Israel. Furthermore,

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there is, despite the current diplomatic stasis, a living model for a fair two-state solution that could lead to peace not only between Israel and Palestine but between Israel and the entire Arab world: the recently reiterated Arab League proposal. The offer is there, if Israel and Washington have the courage to act on it.

From the Palestinian point of view—and from that of anyone who supports minimal standards of human rights—it's inevitable that if the two-state solution fades, the calls for inclusion on fully equal terms in one state will grow. And from the Israeli perspective, every "defeat" of Palestinian resistance, every new settlement, will only hasten the day when two populations of roughly equal size, one Jewish and one Palestinian, will be seen by the international community as functioning in essentially one state, under an apartheid system. The "separation wall," which divides the two populations while imprisoning one under the control of the other, will only accelerate that perception. In other words, the Jewish state, qua Jewish state, will in the long run be just as threatened by continuation along the present unilateralist path as by a major shift toward negotiations and reconciliation.

All Americans, whatever their ethnicity or religion, are deeply implicated in what happens in Israel/Palestine, given our government's identification with and massive aid to Israel. The conflict is a Middle East crisis, but whether we like it or not, it is very much an American dilemma. No issue inflames opinion against the United States more than its support for Israel's policies toward the Palestinians, which has put us on a collision course with the Arab and Muslim world. We must therefore continually rethink our assumptions. We at *The Nation* see it as our task to further the debate by providing a forum for it and by exploring all creative solutions. As in the past, we adhere to a general principle that's more important than any particular state formation: The two peoples must be afforded the right to live in peace and dignity, on fully equal terms, whether in one state or two.

Cindy Sheehan's Farewell

Cindy Sheehan never set out to be the face of the antiwar movement. She was a mom thrust by an ugly circumstance and a lovely faith to the forefront of a movement that was struggling to find its voice. She gave it that voice as an honest player who spoke her mind—sometimes intemperately, often imperfectly, always sincerely—and backed up her words with actions. Her unscripted activism allowed her to succeed where others had failed in touching hearts and calling the disengaged, the disenchanted and the downright angry to believe once more in the prospect that citizens can make real the promise of the American experiment.

So it was that when Sheehan announced that she was "resigning" from a role she never sought, the loss was palpable. Yes, the antiwar movement took her for granted. She was expected to show up, draw a crowd, willingly accept the outrageous attacks of critics, risk arrest—and get up the next morning and do it again. It was only when she explained in a poignant letter that she would no longer be the Sisyphus of a troubled movement that anyone bothered to think of what an essential player she had become.

"Nobody has given more to the peace movement in recent years—emotionally, physically, spiritually," explained Tim Carpenter, national director of Progressive Democrats of America. With Code Pink and her own Gold Star Families for Peace, PDA was the group with which Sheehan most closely aligned herself during a period of nonstop antiwar activism that began after the death of her son, Army Spc. Casey Sheehan, in a Baghdad ambush. She became a national phenomenon when, in August 2005, she set up camp outside George W. Bush's ranchette in Crawford, Texas, and demanded to talk with the President about her loss and about his responsibility to end the war before any more mothers suffered her fate.

On a Memorial Day weekend that fell just hours after Congress met Bush's demand for more war funding, Sheehan reached what she described as "heartbreaking" conclusions. "The first conclusion is that I was the darling of the so-called left as long as I limited my protests to George Bush and the Republican Party. Of course, I was slandered and libeled by the right as a 'tool' of the Democratic Party. This label was to marginalize me and my message. How could a woman have an original thought, or be working outside of our 'two-party' system?" she wrote. "However, when I started to hold the Democratic Party to the same standards that I held the Republican Party, support for my cause started to erode and the 'left' started labeling me with the same slurs that the right used. I guess no one paid attention to me when I said that the issue of peace and people dying for no reason is not a matter of 'right or left,' but 'right and wrong.'"

Sheehan was not whining in her resignation letter. She was despairing for a Republic to which she had shown a patriot's allegiance. She and I had over the past several years appeared frequently onstage together, and we talked a lot about politics. But it was only over time that I came to understand Sheehan as a Jeffersonian Democrat in the best sense of that term. She believed, as the third President did, that people should not fear their government; government should fear the people. Now, she has come to question whether the will of the citizenry will prevail.

It is reasonable to argue with Sheehan about her read of politics and assessment of politicians. She's the first to admit she's no expert on campaign strategy or legislative tactics. But we should recognize the troubling turn politics have taken when one of democracy's true believers ends her intense activism by saying, "I am deemed a radical because I believe that partisan politics should be left to the wayside when hundreds of thousands of people are dying for a war based on lies that is supported by Democrats and Republicans alike. It amazes me that people who are sharp on the issues and can zero in like a laser beam on lies, misrepresentations, and political expediency when it comes to one party refuse to recognize it in their own party. Blind party loyalty is dangerous whatever side it occurs on.… If we don't find alternatives to this corrupt 'two' party system our Representative Republic will die and be replaced with what we are rapidly descending into with nary a check or balance: a fascist corporate wasteland."

We have not seen the last of Cindy Sheehan. But this may be the last we see of her as that Jeffersonian Democrat who believed so deeply and so unapologetically in America's promise. To my mind, this is the truest measure of the darkness in which we now find ourselves.

JOHN NICHOLS

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COMMENT

Crackdown in Iran

On May 8 in Tehran, Haleh Esfandiari, the 67-year-old Middle East director of Washington's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, was taken away to Evin Prison. She had been in Iran on one of her yearly trips to see her 93-year-old mother when in December, while en route to the airport, she was stopped at knife-point by masked men, who seized her passports (she is a dual US-Iranian national). Since then she has endured torturous interrogations, sometimes for up to eight hours on end. Esfandiari, who refused to confess to taking part in anti-government activities, faces vague charges of being part of US efforts at a "soft overthrow" of the regime.

Three days after Esfandiari was locked up at Evin, social scientist Kian Tajbakhsh was taken from his home, also without being officially charged. And only days later, we learned that a Los Angeles–based activist named Ali Shakeri had gone missing. On May 29, Esfandiari, Tajbakhsh and Parnaz Azima, a radio journalist for the US-based Radio Farda who had been prevented from leaving Iran for some months, were charged with spying for the Americans.

As all are dual nationals, their cases point to a disturbing trend: People with connections to the West, particularly scholars, are being fingered as part of a vast conspiracy aimed at toppling the regime. Countless other Iranians, some of them dual nationals but many of them not, have also had their passports seized. Iran's civil society—women's rights activists, unionists, students, journalists—has been the larger casualty of this crackdown.

It is hard to imagine how Esfandiari could possibly be a national security threat. Through the Wilson Center, she worked tirelessly to create a balanced and impartial space for communication between American and Iranian intellectuals. Tajbakhsh had returned to Iran in 2001, leaving behind a distinguished teaching career at the New School in New York City. In Tehran he not only worked on government urban planning projects but also as a professor and consultant to the Open Society Institute. Shakeri was a peace activist. None of them had to travel to Iran. They chose to, because they were invested in the future of the country of their birth.

One may offer that there is nothing new about this particular moment. After all, for twenty-seven years the Iranian regime has justified attacks on its opponents by linking them to the West. But when Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced a $75 million appropriation to support Iranian civil society in February 2006, she made the regime's job far easier. Suddenly, everyone became a potential spy or recipient of US funds.

The irony is that it is unlikely that any of the $75 million has actually entered Iran. Most has gone to Persian-language broadcasting based in the States, and a fraction has gone to US-based NGOs. It certainly did not go to the three arrested these past weeks. The Wilson Center received no State Department money, nor was it part of any "Zionist conspiracy," as Iranian newspapers imply. And Tajbakhsh's activities with OSI were thoroughly transparent and given an official Iranian government permit.

It is in fact Iranian activists who have been the most vociferous critics of Rice's program. Homegrown initiatives such as the "one million signatures" campaign are proof that one does not need money or vows of regime change to create a successful grassroots movement. The campaign, which pushes for modest changes in the women's legal code, requires only a pen, paper and a photocopy machine to go about its work.

Still, the regime is cracking down on precisely the people who are working within the parameters of the system. They are not revolutionaries. They are not foreign agents. By silencing them the government plays straight into the hands of the hard-liners in Washington who delight in fantasies of military action.

At the end of May, Iran and the United States sat down for direct talks in Baghdad over their shared interests in Iraq. There is little question that the meeting, modest as it may have been, was momentous. Let us hope that with this first step, we may come closer to engagement between these two sworn enemies—and finally, to bringing Esfandiari, Shakeri and Tajbakhsh home to their families.

H. Abrishami

H. Abrishami is the pseudonym for a journalist who writes frequently on Iran.

CALVIN TRILLIN

Monica Goodling Testifies on US Attorney Firing

Admitting that she had crossed over the line,
She must have been plainly aware
That side of the line was as crowded as hell:
Her bosses were already there.

The Polonium Papers

Alexander Litvinenko, an ex-KGB officer, died of polonium poisoning in London last November. On May 22 Britain officially requested the extradition of Russian businessman Andrei Lugovoi, who had at least a dozen meetings with Litvinenko in London last year. In announcing the request, Ken Macdonald, head of public prosecutions in Britain, explained, "I have today concluded that the evidence sent to us by the police is sufficient to charge Andrei Lugovoi with the murder of Mr. Litvinenko by deliberate poisoning." The police report had been forwarded to his office in January, but Macdonald left unexplained why, if the evidence in the report was that compelling, his office sat on it for three months without taking any action. In any case, the extradition request was inoperative, since the Russian government had stated categorically in advance that it would not extradite a

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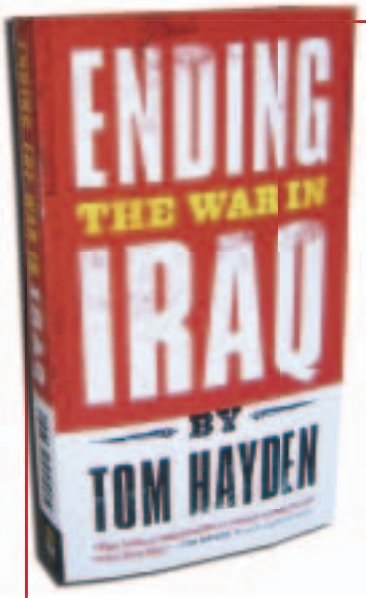

Ending the War in Iraq

by Tom Hayden

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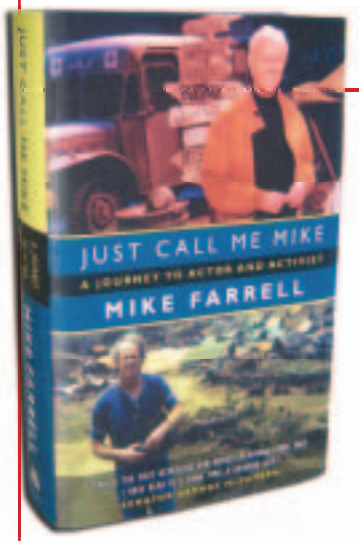

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Mike Farrell is best known for his eight years on *M*A*S*H* and five seasons on *Providence*. He is also a writer, director, and producer; co-chair emeritus of Human Rights Watch in Southern California; spokesperson for Concern America; president of Death Penalty Focus; and cofounder of Artists United to Win Without War. He lives in Los Angeles.

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COMMENT

Russian citizen to a foreign country. While the belated request did little to advance the case, it ignited a media firestorm, with op-eds and screaming headlines around the world. The Cannes Film Festival even decided to screen a documentary on Litvinenko's death. As for the actual status of the evidentiary case, to date:

§ In Russia, prosecutors have not received an official statement from British authorities on the reasons for Litvinenko's death. Prosecutor General Yury Chaika reported May 25, "To date, the Russian prosecutor's office has not received any official documents or materials on the Litvinenko case…[or] seen the report from British medical experts on the official cause of Litvinenko's death."

§ In the absence of evidence, the Russian authorities have filed no charges in the Litvinenko case.

§ In Britain, the coroner's office has not released a report on Litvinenko's death or on the December autopsy. So there is still no official cause of death. Nor is it medically established when, how or how many times he ingested polonium 210. This leaves open the possibility that Litvinenko accidentally ingested or breathed in polonium particles that had leaked from a container. (One millionth of a gram can be fatal.)

§ The Crown prosecutors, meanwhile, awaiting a reply to an extradition request that has been turned down, have not indicted anyone.

§ In Germany, authorities still investigating the smuggling of polonium through Hamburg have not filed any charges.

§ The source of the polonium 210, a rare isotope produced by nuclear reactors, has not been identified. Polonium samples from Litvinenko's body have not been provided to Russia and other governments that have such reactors.

§ No timeline has been scientifically established showing when people and premises were contaminated in Britain, Russia and Germany by polonium 210, including: (1) Boris Berezovsky's offices in London. Berezovsky, the exiled Russian billionaire in London, who told the *Guardian* he was involved in a plot to overthrow Putin, had employed Litvinenko as an adviser and was negotiating a business arrangement with Lugovoi, who had once been his security chief in Moscow; (2) Lugovoi, who met with both Litvinenko and Berezovsky in London; (3) Dmitry Kovtun, a Russian security consultant, who also met with Lugovoi and Litvinenko in London and traveled to Hamburg in October; (4) Mario Scaramella, an Italian investigator, who dined with Litvinenko at the Itsu sushi restaurant just before Litvinenko went to the hospital.

§ The chronological ordering of the different contaminations, and the determination of who contaminated whom and which offices, has been compromised by the long delay in forensic examinations of the possible crime scenes. Three weeks or more elapsed between the time Litvinenko entered the hospital and the examination of the trail of polonium in offices, restaurants, hotels, airplanes and people. During that interval the specks of dust containing the polonium byproducts necessary to date it were scattered. For example, the hotel teapot in which a trace of polonium was found had been repeatedly put through the dishwasher. So it may be impossible to date the exposures accurately.

§ Scaramella is the only person arrested so far. After being hospitalized for exposure to the isotope, he was jailed by Italian authorities on an unrelated charge of "calumny," because he had accused Ukrainian former KGB agents of trying to assassinate him. Denied bail, he remains in prison.

Even if the legal processes in Britain, Russia, Germany and Italy remain stymied, and no one has produced a witness to explain why polonium was smuggled into London and the medical evidence is not yet known, Hollywood has rushed in to fill the factual void. Columbia Pictures acquired the movie rights to *Death of a Dissident*, written by Alex Goldfarb (an executive at Berezovsky's foundation) and Litvinenko's widow, Marina; Warner Bros. and Initial Entertainment optioned the unwritten book *Sasha's Story: The Life and Death of a Russian Spy*, by Alan Cowell, the *New York Times* correspondent in London covering the Litvinenko story, for a movie starring Johnny Depp. What remains to be seen is whether movies will come out before—or after—the coroner's report.

EDWARD JAY EPSTEIN

Edward Jay Epstein is the author of thirteen books, including Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth. *He is currently writing a book about the 9/11 Commission.*

SI COOKS THE BOOKS

Even though Barry Bonds is approaching Hank Aaron's home run record, *Sports Illustrated*'s panel of experts excluded him from its "all time" team because his numbers "are not to be believed." It's sad that *SI*'s list has so many players whose careers were in the pre-1947 "major" leagues, when the color bar was in effect. I am not condoning steroid use, but when 30 to 35 percent of qualified athletes are not allowed to play because of the color of their skin and are replaced by others who most likely would have been in the minors if segregation had not been in effect, the statistics are sharply skewed. It is often asked when someone will hit .400 again, as Ted Williams did in 1941. George Brett's .390 year (1980) is actually a greater accomplishment, given the level of the competition he faced (this is no knock at Williams, who was confident enough in his own abilities to openly support integration). The stats of the pre-integration majors, inflated by the exclusion of nonwhites, should be far more open to question than those of Mark McGwire or Barry Bonds. There are more teams now, but the US population has more than doubled since Babe Ruth's time, and baseball now draws players from all over the world. By continuing to honor the illegitimate records of the pre-1947 "major" leagues and excluding equally deserving Negro league players, *SI* is not only missing an analytical point but is condoning the discriminatory practices of Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis and the owners of that era.

JONATHAN COHEN

Jonathan Cohen is an attorney, activist and baseball enthusiast living in New York.

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ERIC ALTERMAN

Potemkin Paper?

The conservative *New York Sun* announces on its front page each morning that it reaches "150,000 of New York City's Most Influential Readers Every Day." I read in Scott Sherman's sympathetic April 30 profile in this magazine that the *Sun* says it is selling 13,211 hard copies a day and giving away more than 85,000.

But if my experience is any guide, these numbers are about as reliable as a Bush budget briefing. I have twice received free *Sun* subscription offers, initially when the *Sun* began publication, in the spring of 2002, and more recently this past winter. Both times I signed up. In 2002 I got *bupkes*, though I called about it more than once. Between January 1 and Memorial Day, I not only hassled the circulation people myself; so did my intern, Mike, many times over five months. Over and over, the *Sun*'s staffers insisted that I was getting the paper and just didn't know it. Eventually about eight copies showed up one morning addressed to different apartments in my building. That lasted a day. (Ironically, one more showed up Tuesday morning, May 29, as this column was due.)

I have similar reservations about the paper's purported sales figures, however meager. I did no sleuthing myself, but not only is this a business rampant with fraud, it's also characterized by more shady-but-legal tricks of the trade than a border-based bordello. According to William Breen, for instance, who says he worked for a New York City wholesaler (and wrote a 2004 letter to Jim Romenesko's blog, MediaNews), city news dealers paid just a penny per copy. That means it makes no economic sense to return the leftovers. The result, Breen claimed, was "their circ figures look great. Virtually every copy they print is 'sold.'"

The *Sun* is supported by many famously savvy and unsentimental investors, including Richard Gilder, Roger Hertog, Michael Steinhardt, Bruce Kovner and Thomas Tisch (though its most prominent one, Conrad Black, is now on trial for myriad varieties of fraud). I'm sure one of them would be smart enough to explain why it's so hard to actually obtain one of their newspapers, but during the *Sun*'s high-profile 2002 launch, none was able to offer a convincing commercial rationale for creating a conservative highbrow newspaper in a liberal city that already had two highbrow papers and at least two conservative ones (depending on how you measure these things).

When its guiding spirit, Seth Lipsky, tried to explain the paper's raison d'être to Sherman, he found himself not only ignoring Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*—which may be understandable, given its addiction to sleaze—but also the *Wall Street Journal*, which, while published in New York City, with an enormous New York–based staff and readership, Lipsky says is something other than a New York newspaper. Lipsky was also compelled to place the prowar *Daily News*, whose extremely involved owner-editor, Mortimer Zuckerman, is one of America's most prominent supporters of the Israeli government and voted for George W. Bush in 2004, on the left side of the spectrum.

Given such contortions, it should surprise no one that so much of the *Sun* appears to exist only in its owners' and editors' neoconservative imaginations. Indeed, its investors—together with Lipsky, a refugee from Bob Bartley's *Wall Street Journal* editorial page, and the founder of the English-language version of the Jewish *Forward*—appear to have little interest in publishing a newspaper in the traditional sense. Back in 2002, *Daily News* editor in chief Ed Kosner called the *Sun* "an intellectual vanity publication" with "a very small niche, the niche of weekly and monthly journals." But *Dissent* could run for a hundred years on what these *machers* are paying for the *Sun*. Why go to the enormous trouble and expense of publishing a multimillion-dollar daily newspaper that (apparently) reaches next to no one, at a moment when investors are eagerly shedding their newspaper holdings and privately owned papers are just as eagerly shedding staffers? The answer, obviously, has nothing to do with profits or even readers; advertisers are not stupid enough to put their faith (and money) into imaginary circulation figures. But journalists are. And there's the rub.

Lipsky quotes his mentor Bartley that it requires "seventy-five editorials to get a law passed." It's not clear whether those editorials require actual readers who care what they say. In the case of the *Sun*, which mimics Murdoch's technique of blending editorials and news coverage in the same story, the intent is less to pass legislation than create *tsuris* for people and places of which it disapproves. Sherman aptly described the paper's primary function as that of "a journalistic SWAT team against individuals and institutions seen as hostile to Israel." During its first five years, these have included the Ford Foundation, which it accused of aiding Palestinian terrorism; Columbia University, accused of creating an atmosphere unfriendly to Jews; Kofi Annan's office at the UN, accused of rampant corruption; and Harvard University's Kennedy School, publisher of the famous Walt-Mearsheimer paper, likened to a David Duke neo-Nazi screed. It matters little that few sensible people would concur with the *Sun*'s wild charges. (This is, after all, a paper whose editorial board thinks Dick Cheney should run for President in 2008.) What matters is the political value to the neoconservative agenda of creating the appearance of smoke, regardless of whether it's connected to fire.

But I don't want to harp on the Jewish-media-moguls-supporting-Israel angle, which hews a little too close to traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes for my taste. While it may explain the *Sun*'s rise, it obscures the more salient fact that countless conservative propaganda factories are supported in America by literally billions in ideological investment. Their success in swaying gullible reporters in the MSM and elsewhere accounts, in significant measure, for the widespread misperception that the public has moved rightward in recent decades. (The past four decades of public opinion polling show exactly the opposite: The public has moved leftward as the political system has moved rightward.) The beauty of this operation is that all this can be accomplished—as the *Sun* demonstrates—without the participation of any actual readers ■

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NAOMI KLEIN

Baghdad Burns, Calgary Booms

The invasion of Iraq has set off what could be the largest oil boom in history. All the signs are there: multinationals free to gobble up national firms at will, ship unlimited profits home, enjoy leisurely "tax holidays" and pay a laughable 1 percent in royalties to the government.

This isn't the boom in Iraq sparked by the proposed new oil law—that will come later. This boom is already in full swing, and it is happening about as far away from the carnage in Baghdad as you can get, in the wilds of northern Alberta. For four years now, Alberta and Iraq have been connected to each other through a kind of invisible seesaw: As Baghdad burns, destabilizing the entire region and sending oil prices soaring, Calgary booms.

Here is how chaos in Iraq unleashed what the *Financial Times* recently called "north America's biggest resources boom since the Klondike gold rush." Albertans have always known that in the northern part of their province, there are vast deposits of bitumen—black, tarlike goo that is mixed with sand, clay, water and oil. There are approximately 2.5 trillion barrels of the stuff, the largest hydrocarbon deposits in the world.

It is possible to turn Alberta's crud into crude, but it's awfully hard. One method is to mine it in vast open pits: First forests are clear-cut, then topsoil scraped away. Next, huge machines dig out the black goop and load it into the largest dump trucks in the world (two stories high, a single wheel costs $100,000). The tar is diluted with water and solvents in giant vats, which spin it around until the oil rises to the top, while the massive tailings are dumped in ponds larger than the region's natural lakes. Another method is to separate the oil where it is: Large drill-pipes push steam deep underground, which melts the tar, while another pipe sucks it out and transports it through several more stages of refining, much of it powered by natural gas.

Both techniques are costly: between $18 and $23 per barrel, just in expenses. Until quite recently, that made no economic sense. In the mid-1980s, oil sold for $20 a barrel; in 1998–99, it was down to $12 a barrel. The major international players had no intention of paying more to get the oil than they could sell it for, which is why, when global oil reserves were calculated, the tar sands weren't even factored in. Everyone but a few heavily subsidized Canadian companies knew that the tar was staying put.

Then came the US invasion of Iraq. In March 2003, the price of oil reached $35 a barrel, raising the prospect of making a profit from the tar sands (the industry calls them "oil sands"). That year, the United States Energy Information Administration "discovered" oil in the tar sands. It announced that Alberta—previously thought to have only 5 billion barrels of oil—was actually sitting on at least 174 billion "economically recoverable" barrels. The next year, Canada overtook Saudi Arabia as the leading provider of foreign oil to the United States.

All this has meant that Iraq's oil boom has not been delayed; it has been relocated. All the majors, save BP, have rushed to northern Alberta: ExxonMobil, Chevron and Total, which alone plans to spend $9–$14 billion. In April, Shell paid $8 billion to take full control of its Canadian subsidiary. The town of Fort McMurray, ground zero of the boom, has nowhere to house the tens of thousands of new workers, and one company has built its own airstrip so it can fly in the people it needs.

Seventy-five percent of the oil from the tar sands flows directly to the United States, prompting Brian Hall, an energy consultant with Colorado-based IHS, to call the tar sands "America's energy security blanket." There is a certain irony there: The United States invaded Iraq at least in part to secure access to its oil. Now, thanks partly to economic blowback from that disastrous decision, it has found the "security" it was looking for right next door.

It has become fashionable to predict that high oil prices will spark a free-market response to climate change, setting off an "explosion of innovation in alternatives," as *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman wrote recently. Alberta puts the lie to that claim. High prices have indeed led to an R&D extravaganza, but it is squarely focused on figuring out how to get the dirtiest possible oil out of the hardest-to-reach places. Shell, for instance, is working on a "novel thermal recovery process"—embedding large electric heaters in the deposits and literally cooking the earth.

And that's the Alberta tar sands for you: The industry already contributing to climate change more than any other is frantically turning up the heat. The process of refining bitumen emits three to four times the greenhouse gases produced by extracting oil from traditional wells, making the tar sands the largest single contributor to Canada's growth in greenhouse gas emissions. Nonetheless, the industry plans to more than triple production by 2020, with no end in sight. If prices stay high, it will soon become profitable to extract an additional 141 billion barrels from the tar sand, which would place the largest oil reserves in the world in Alberta.

Developing the sands is devouring trees and wildlife—the Pembina Institute, the leading authority on the tar sands' environmental impact, warns that boreal forests covering "an area as large as the State of Florida" risk being leveled. Now it turns out that the main river feeding the industry the massive quantities of water it needs is in jeopardy. Climate scientists say that dropping water levels are the result—fittingly enough—of climate warming.

Contemplating the collective madness in Alberta—a scene even the *Financial Times* has labeled "some dystopian fantasy"—it strikes me that Canada has ended up with more than Iraq's displaced oil boom. We have its elusive weapons of mass destruction too. They are out near Fort McMurray, in the jet-black goo beneath the earth's crust. And with the help of trucks, pipes, steam and gas, these weapons are being detonated. ■

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ARTICLES

FORTY YEARS OF OCCUPATION

Two Views

THE CASE FOR SHARED SOVEREIGNTY

MERON BENVENISTI

On June 10, 1967, the Israeli army completed its occupation of the former British Mandate of Palestine (the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean) as well as the Egyptian Sinai and the Syrian Golan Heights, and imposed martial law. This was the start of a new era in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which had begun more than a century earlier. The historical import attributed to the date indicates the critical change it is perceived to have signified, seen by many as a fault line separating tiny, pre-1967 Israel from its current position as occupier of Palestinian territories and oppressor of nearly 4 million people. Those who emphasize the decisive importance of the day are essentially seeking to divide the annals of the conflict into two markedly different periods: before and after the Six-Day War. In this view, conditions before the war changed dramatically on the seventh day.

A widely held opinion among the left wing is that the period between 1948 and 1967 was a "golden age" for "little Israel," the homogenous Jewish nation-state in which, for nineteen years, the Palestinian problem that had existed was replaced by "the Israeli-Arab conflict," while the Palestinians became "refugees" and "infiltrators" (fedayeen). In this view, the root of evil began in the "occupation of the territories," a new circumstance that caused the moral corruption of Zionism, which was transformed from a national liberation movement into an oppressive colonial force.

Among the right wing, conversely, the occupation was perceived as the final victory of Zionism—the "liberation of the homeland." Outside "Greater Israel" circles, those unwilling to accept the obligations imposed by international law on an occupying force referred to the territories as "administered," a non-obligating term. "Occupation" gradually morphed from a legal idiom describing the forcible seizure of enemy territories by a foreign army into a concept with political significance. The term "occupation," like others in the conflict vocabulary, became a shibboleth—a code word whose use obviates any need for argumentation or inquiry: Those who say "occupation" are enlightened, while those who avoid it are on the dark side. Similar terms include West Bank (as opposed to Judea and Samaria), settling (as opposed to building communities), liberated Jerusalem, Arab terror, Palestinian state, partition of the country, separation, disengagement, security fence (as opposed to wall). These code words have taken over public discourse, and they enable an avoidance of the complex predicament.

Defining the condition in the territories beyond the Green Line as "occupation" is seemingly unequivocal. Those who subscribe to this definition regard the occupied territories as foreign land, fundamentally different from the areas inside the Green Line, which are perceived as "sovereign Israel." But this distinction is not without its complications: Where exactly is the border between the occupied territory and the mother-state? Has Israel ever clearly defined the confines of the mother-state? What happens when the mother-state's capital, the seat of power—Jerusalem—is partly in occupied territory (East Jerusalem) and partly in the mother-state? And how do those who use the term occupation define the "settlement blocs" of Ma'ale Adumim, Gush Etzion and Ariel, whose residents are considered, by public consensus, to be as much a part of Israel as those of Tel Aviv or Haifa and live as Israeli citizens in every way: Are they in occupied territory or in the mother-state?

The decades since the war have proved that 1967 was not a disjunction but quite the opposite, a union, and that the preceding period was merely a reprieve. The Six-Day War was the final battle in 1948's War of Independence, and the partition dictated by the armistice agreements—which lasted for almost nineteen years—was eradicated by the Israeli occupation. The time between 1948 and 1967, during which Israel/Palestine was divided into two discrete geopolitical units, was not sufficient for an emotional separation to emerge between the two communities and the territories "beyond the border." The dynamics that define politi-

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cal and administrative borders as "homeland," artificial and absurd as they may be, are familiar from Third World countries. There, colonial borders drawn in the service of imperialist considerations determined the national identity of the communities that lived in them, not the other way around. This dynamic was also realized in the Middle East. Although the Palestinians of the West Bank began to develop a "Jordanian" identity in the years between 1949 and 1967, when the West Bank fell under Jordanian rule, they continued to nurture their affinity with the regions from which many of them had been deported in 1948. The Jews, the vast majority of whom accepted their severance from the West Bank, returned almost immediately after the 1967 occupation to nurture their own national and religious kinship with the regions that were the "cradle of the nation." The political and physical conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians did not change but rather adapted to its new circumstances.

Defining the territories as 'occupied' is an anachronism that is designed to avoid resolving immediate dilemmas.

The occupation of the territories in 1967 resulted from military action, but the military element quickly became secondary, while the "civilian" component—settlements—became the dominant factor, subjugating the military to its needs and turning the security forces into a militia in service to the Jewish ethnic group. By the late 1980s, after two decades of occupation, Israeli control of the territories beyond the Green Line had become semi-permanent, differentiated from sovereign rule only vis-à-vis the Palestinian residents: As far as Israeli citizens and their range of interests were concerned, the annexation of the territories was a *fait accompli*. Defining the territories as occupied is, in fact, an anachronism that hides behind the portrayal of a temporary condition that will end "when peace comes," and is designed to avoid resolving immediate dilemmas "in the meantime." The term is a crutch for those who seek optimistic precedents, allowing them to believe that just as all occupations end, this one will too. This linguistic choice thereby contributes to the blurring and obfuscation of the reality in the territories, aiding the continuation of the status quo.

One must therefore seek a different paradigm to describe the state of affairs forty years after Israel/Palestine became one geopolitical unit again, after nineteen years of partition. The term "de facto binational state" is preferable to the occupier/occupied paradigm, because it describes the mutual dependence of both societies, as well as the physical, economic, symbolic and cultural ties that cannot be severed except at an intolerable cost. Describing the situation as de facto binational is not prescriptive but descriptive, and it does not indicate parity between Israelis and Palestinians—on the contrary, it stresses the total dominance of the Jewish-Israeli nation, which controls a Palestinian nation that is fragmented both territorially and socially. No paradigm of military occupation can reflect the bantustans created in the occupied territories, which separate a free and flourishing population that enjoys a gross domestic product of $26,000 per capita from a dominated population that is unable to shape its own future and whose GDP is $1,500 per capita. No paradigm of military occupation can explain how half the occupied areas have essentially been annexed, leaving the occupied population with disconnected lands and no viable existence. Only a strategy of annexation and permanent rule can explain the vast settlement enterprise and the enormous investment in infrastructure, estimated at more than $10 billion.

The 1967 war brought more than a million Palestinians under Israeli rule and gave new meaning to the Israeli mode of intimate disregard. The right wing stressed contempt for the Palestinian masses and believed they could be controlled through trickery and violence; the left wing dwelled futilely on theoretical peace plans and for the most part recoiled from any involvement in the unbearably harsh daily lives of the Palestinian population. Everyone amused themselves with "separation" proposals meant to externalize the "others," and united around the slogan "Us here and them there," whose physical manifest is the wall known as "the security fence," built to conceal the Palestinians and erase them from awareness.

Only the integration of the post-1967 period within the conflict's larger history will illuminate the immigrant-versus-native syndrome that has characterized the Jewish-Arab encounter since its inception. The syndrome is well-known: Jewish immigrants settled on the lands of Arab natives, met with violent resistance and responded as if they were the victims and the natives the aggressors. This was the start of the endless cycle of violence. The immigrant-native model explains many aspects of the conflict that are unique to the clash between immigrant and native societies—above all, the centrality of physical space as the primary battlefield. Phenomena such as land-grabbing, settling in the heart of local populations and an increasingly brutal cycle of bloody retaliations make the occupation paradigm an insufficiently nuanced means of explaining this reality.

The decades-long institutionalization of military and civilian control over the occupied territories increased friction between the communities in such a way that the perception of the conflict retreated into its most basic, atavistic and emotional strata, rendering it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to ascribe any rational solution, like "two states for two peoples." The deterioration brought the Jewish-Israeli public to a crossroads in relation to their neighbor-enemies, the Arabs and Palestinians. For the first time since the tragic encounter began more than a century ago, the Jews are giving the Arabs a divorce—and turning their backs, erasing them from their consciousness, imprisoning them behind impenetrable walls, willingly congregating in a ghetto and praying that the Mediterranean might dry up or a bridge be built to connect them with Europe. Ostensibly this is nothing new: The Jewish public has always alienated and disregarded the Arabs. But it was an intimate disregard, similar to a person's approach to his own shadow; one can ignore it but never be rid of it.

This intimate approach encompassed many emotions: fear and anxiety, affection and attraction, superiority and European

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Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, is a columnist for the Israeli daily Ha'aretz. *He is the author of many books, including* Intimate Enemies, Sacred Landscape *and, most recently,* Son of the Cypresses. *This article was translated from the Hebrew by Jessica Cohen.*

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ethnocentricity, humanism and hostility, anthropological curiosity and romanticism. There was contempt for the primitivism but also a strong attraction to the rootedness of the native in his land, embedded in its landscapes and experienced in its tribulations. The intimate disregard took form when, during the War of Independence, hundreds of thousands of Arabs were uprooted, turning neighbors into refugees or infiltrators who were swallowed up within the hostile "Arab world." The Arab minority that remained under Israeli rule lived on the margins of Jewish consciousness—at best not belonging, at worst a fifth column.

The process of mental disengagement is a continual one, but there is no doubt that the emergence of suicide bombers has hastened it. There could not be any intimate regard for a culture that nurtures such a monstrous phenomenon, and the Palestinians were thereby complicit in bringing about the divorce imposed upon them. Racist right-wing circles exploit the situation and turn diffuse emotions into a practical plan for "transfer" (i.e., expulsion) and denial of civil rights; human rights activists beg for resistance to the injustices and meet with indifference; political movements thrive on erasing the Arabs from Israeli awareness; and those who caution that it is all an illusion, that millions of human beings cannot be erased, are treated with hostility. Other conflicts have shown that after the erasure comes reconciliation, then appeals for forgiveness. But a preliminary stage in dealing with this problem that will not disappear is to expunge outmoded code words from the dictionary and deal bravely with the reality created by forty years of Israeli control over the entirety of Israel/Palestine. This land has witnessed the emergence of a geography, an economy and demographic, and social processes that no longer enable a division into two separate sovereignties. The alternatives are simple and cruel: Either one people controls the other, dooming them both to eternal violence, or else a way must be found to live in a partnership based on shared sovereignty. ■

FOR A SECULAR DEMOCRATIC STATE

SAREE MAKDISI

This month marks the fortieth anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. Four decades of control established and maintained by force of arms—in defiance of international law, countless UN Security Council resolutions and, most recently, the 2004 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in The Hague—have enabled Israel to impose its will on the occupied territories and, in effect, to remake them in its own image.

The result is a continuous political space now encompassing all of historic Palestine, albeit a space as sharply divided as the colonial world ("a world cut in two") famously described by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Indeed, Fanon's 1961 classic still enables an analysis of Israel and the occupied territories as fresh, insightful and relevant in 2007 as the readings of Cape Town or Algiers that it made available when it was first published.

Israel maintains two separate road systems in the West Bank, for example: one for the territory's immigrant population of Jewish settlers, one for its indigenous non-Jewish (i.e., Palestinian) population.

The roads designated for the Jewish settlers are well maintained, well lit, continuous and uninterrupted; they tie the network of Jewish "neighborhoods" and "settlements"—all of them in reality colonies forbidden by international law—to each other and to Israel. The roads for the West Bank's native population, by contrast, are poorly maintained, when they are maintained at all (they often consist of little more than shepherds' trails); they are continuously blockaded and interrupted. A grid of checkpoints and roadblocks (546 at last count) strangles the circulation of the West Bank's indigenous population, but it is designed to facilitate the free movement of Jewish settlers—who are, moreover, allowed to drive their own cars on the roads set aside for them, whereas Palestinians are not allowed to drive their cars beyond their own towns and villages (the entrances to which are all blockaded by the Israeli army).

The wall that Israel has been constructing in the West Bank and East Jerusalem since 2002 makes visible in concrete and barbed wire the outlines of the discriminatory regime that structures and defines everyday life in the occupied territories, separating Palestinian farmers from crops, patients from hospitals, students and teachers from schools and, increasingly, even parents from children (it has, for example, separated one parent or another from spouses and children in 21 percent of Palestinian families living on either side of the wall near Jerusalem)—while at the same time enabling the seamless incorporation of the Judaized spaces of the occupied territories into Israel itself. And a regime of curfews and closures, enforced by the Israeli army, has smothered the Palestinian economy, though none of its provisions apply to Jewish settlers in the occupied territories.

There are, in short, two separate legal and administrative systems, maintained by the regular use of military force, for two populations—settlers and natives—unequally inhabiting the same piece of land: exactly as was the case in the colonial countries described by Fanon, or in South Africa under apartheid.

All this has enabled Israel to transplant almost half a million of its own citizens into the occupied territories, at the expense of their Palestinian population, whose land is confiscated, whose homes are demolished, whose orchards and olive groves are razed or burned down, and whose social, economic, educational and family lives have been, in effect, all but suspended, precisely in order that their land may be made available for the use of another people.

The result has been catastrophic for the Palestinians, as a

Saree Makdisi, a professor of English and comparative literature at UCLA, is writing a book on Palestine, forthcoming from Norton.

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World Bank report published in May makes clear. While the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem enjoy growth rates exceeding those of Israel itself, Palestinian towns and villages are slowly being strangled. While Jewish settlers move with total freedom, the combination of physical obstacles and the bureaucratic pass system imposed by the Israeli army on the Palestinian population has not only permanently separated the Palestinians of the West Bank from those of Gaza, East Jerusalem and Israel (movement among which is forbidden for all but a tiny minority) but has also broken up the West Bank into three distinct sections and ten enclaves. Half of the West Bank is altogether off-limits to most Palestinians; to move from one part of the rest of the territory to another, Palestinians must apply for a permit from the Israelis. Frequent bans are imposed on movement into or out of particular enclaves (the city of Nablus, for example, has been under siege for five years), or on whole segments of the population (e.g., unmarried men under the age of 45). And all permits are summarily invalidated when Israel declares one of its "comprehensive closures" of the West Bank—there were seventy-eight such days in 2006—at which point the entire Palestinian population stays home.

The lucky few who are able to obtain passes from the Israelis are channeled from one section or enclave to another through a series of army checkpoints, where they may be searched, questioned, hassled, detained for hours or simply turned back. "The practical effect of this shattered economic space," the World Bank report points out, "is that on any given day the ability to reach work, school, shopping, healthcare facilities and agricultural land is highly uncertain and subject to arbitrary restriction and delay." Given the circumstances, it is hardly any wonder that two-thirds of the Palestinian population has been reduced to absolute poverty (less than $2 a day), and that hundreds of thousands are now dependent for day-to-day survival on food handouts provided by international relief organizations. Not only has the international community refused to intervene; it has actively participated in the repression, imposing—for the first time in history—sanctions on a people living under military occupation, while the occupying and colonizing power goes on violating the international community's own laws with total impunity.

To all of these charges, Israel and its supporters have but one response: "security." But as the World Bank report argues, it is "often difficult to reconcile the use of movement and access restrictions for security purposes from their use to expand and protect settlement activity." Moreover, the Bank notes, it seems obvious that Israeli security ought to be tied to Palestinian prosperity: By disrupting the Palestinian economy and immiserating an entire population—pushing almost 4 million people to the edge—the Israelis are hardly enhancing their own security.

Such arguments miss the point, however. No matter how fiercely it is contested inside Israel, there remains a very strong sense that the country is entitled to retain the land to which it has now stubbornly clung for four decades. Even while announcing his scheme to relinquish nominal control over a few bits and pieces of the West Bank with heavy concentrations of Palestinians, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert insisted on his country's inherent right to the territory, irrespective of the demands of international law, let alone the rights and claims of the Palestinians themselves. ("Every hill in Samaria and every valley in Judea is part of our historic homeland," he said last year, using Israel's official, biblical terminology for the West Bank.)

Although some people claim there are fundamental differences between the disposition of the territories Israel captured in 1967 and the territories it captured during its creation in 1948—or even that there are important moral and political differences between Israel pre- and post-1967—such sentiments of entitlement, and the use of force that necessarily accompanies them, reveal the seamless continuity of the Zionist project in Palestine from 1948 to our own time. "There are circumstances in history that justify ethnic cleansing," argues Israeli historian Benny Morris, with reference to the creation of Israel. "A Jewish state would not have come into being without the uprooting of 700,000 Palestinians. Therefore it was necessary to uproot them. There was no choice but to expel that population. It was necessary to cleanse the hinterland and cleanse the border areas and cleanse the main roads. It was necessary to cleanse the villages from which our convoys and our settlements were fired on."

Israel's post-1967 occupation policies are demonstrably driven by the same dispossessive logic. If hundreds of thousands have not literally been forced into flight, their existence has been reduced to penury. Just as Israel could have come into being in 1948 only by sweeping aside hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, Israel's ongoing colonization of Palestinian territory—its imposition of itself and its desires on the land's indigenous population—requires, and will always require, the use of force and the continual brutalization of an entire people.

Indeed, the discriminatory practices in the occupied territories replicate, albeit in a harsher and more direct form, those inside Israel, where the remnant of the Palestinian population that was not driven into flight in 1948—today more than a million people—continues to endure the systematic inequalities built into the laws and institutions of a country that explicitly claims to be the state of the Jewish people rather than that of its own actual citizens, about a fifth of whom are not Jewish. Recognizing the contradiction inherent in such a formulation, various Israeli politicians, including Deputy Prime Minister Avigdor Lieberman, have explicitly called for the territorial transfer—if not the outright expulsion—of as much as possible of Israel's non-Jewish (that is, Palestinian) minority. Although it would be intended to mark the ultimate triumph of the dispossessing settler over the dispossessed native (Lieberman is an immigrant from Moldova who enjoys rights denied to indigenous Palestinians simply because he happens to be Jewish), such a gesture would actually amount to a last-ditch measure, an attempt to forestall what has become the most likely conclusion to the conflict.

For, having unified all of what used to be Palestine (albeit into one profoundly divided space) without having overcome the Palestinian people's will to resist, Zionism has run its course. And in so doing, it has terminated any possibility of a two-state solution. There remains but one possibility for peace with justice: truth, reconciliation—and a single democratic and secular state, a state in which there will be no "natives" and "settlers" and all will be equal; a state for all its citizens irrespective of their religious affiliation. Such a state has always, by definition, been anathema for Zionism. But for the people of Israel and Palestine, it is the only way out. ■

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About Your Professor

Dr. Dennis Dalton, (Ph.D., University of London) is the Ann Whitney Olin Professor of Political Science at Barnard College, Columbia University. Professor Dalton has been honored with several scholarships and grants including two Fulbright Scholarships.

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The Abstinence Gluttons

MICHAEL REYNOLDS

Over the past six years George W. Bush's faith-based Administration and a conservative Republican Congress transformed the small-time abstinence-only business into a billion-dollar industry. These dangerously ineffective sexual health enterprises flourish not because they spread "family values" but because of generous helpings of the same pork-heavy gumbo Bush & Co. brought to war-blighted Iraq and Katrina-hammered New Orleans—a mix of back-scratching cronyism, hefty partisan campaign donations, high-dollar lobbyists, a revolving door for political appointees and a lack of concern for results.

RYAN INZANA

One of the chief cooks is a media-shy 63-year-old Catholic multimillionaire, welfare privatizer and Republican donor named Raymond Ruddy. With close ties to the White House, federal health officials and Republican power brokers that date back to W.'s days as Texas governor, Ruddy has leveraged his generous wallet and insider muscle to push an ultraconservative social agenda, enrich a preferred network of abstinence-only and antiabortion groups, boost profits for his company and line the pockets of his cronies—all with taxpayer dollars.

Following the money swirling around Ruddy offers an eye-opening glimpse into the squalor at the heart of the abstinence-only project. One top Bush adviser left to take a job at Ruddy's charity, Gerard Health Foundation, and a senior officer at Ruddy's for-profit company, Maximus, left to take a top-level position at the Department of Health and Human Services. Leaders of Christian-right organizations that are Gerard grantees have gained advisory HHS positions—and their organizations have in turn received AIDS and abstinence grants to the tune of at least $25 million. Maximus itself has raked in more than $100 million in federal contracts during the Bush era.

As for Ruddy's abstinence-only policy, recent reports, including one contracted by Bush's HHS, show that after more than $1 billion has been poured into the enterprise, it simply doesn't work. Already nine states have opted out from federal funds for this faith-based boondoggle in favor of more comprehensive and effective programs of sex education for their youth.

"I can't think of another federal program where so much money was spent without any oversight and to such little effect," said James Wagoner, president of Advocates for Youth, a national organization that promotes comprehensive sexual health policies. "It wasn't that policy-makers didn't know that abstinence-only didn't work. In 2000 the Institute of Medicine issued a scathing report on these programs. But they went full steam ahead despite the warning. It's beyond naïve. It's immoral."

Raymond Ruddy sits on the board of Maximus, a giant government services provider in Reston, Virginia, that pioneered welfare privatization. As one securities analyst observed, "Maximus was in this segment before there was a segment." In 1995 Maximus was a $50 million-a-year enterprise. With passage of the Welfare Reform Act the following year, Maximus's earnings jumped to $105 million. Three years later its revenues tripled. Today it's a $700 million publicly traded global giant with more than 5,000 employees deployed across the nation and in Canada, Israel, Argentina and Egypt. It contracts with state governments to handle child-support collections, implement welfare-to-work and oversee managed care. For the Feds, Maximus handles collections on student loans and Medicaid appeals, manages the Social Security Ticket to Work program for the disabled and provides biometric "smart card" technology to the Secret Service, the Treasury, the IRS.

Ruddy joined Maximus in 1985 and went on to serve as its chairman of the board and as president of Maximus Consulting Group and its research division, the Center for Policy Studies and Surveys, which focuses on welfare and healthcare. Since 2001 he has also headed the Natick, Massachusetts–based Gerard Health Foundation, built on the $115 million retirement package he got from Maximus on resigning as chair in 2001 (he returned as vice chair in 2004) and still entirely funded by his and his wife Marilyn's charitable trust. Few outside the Bay State have heard of Gerard or Ruddy, even organizations that monitor the religious right. As Gerard secretary John Malloy put it in a phone conversation in which he refused an interview with Ruddy, "Ray's the man, but we like to keep him under the radar."

"There are three areas we're about," Malloy said. "We're promoting pro-life causes, abstinence and HIV/AIDS prevention in Africa and we're now moving with that into China." In addition to lavishly funding an army of antiabortion and abstinence-only groups nationwide, Gerard also pumps hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Federalist Society, Americans for Tax Reform, Concerned Women for America, the Family Research Council and other conservative causes. Through Gerard, Ruddy contracted Chuck Donovan, vice president of FRC, to write an "investigative" attack on Planned Parenthood, published in *Crisis* magazine. Gerard also underwrote a propaganda video touting Uganda's discredited abstinence-only HIV prevention program.

Ruddy's ties to George W. Bush date back to the early days of Bush's first presidential campaign, when the Texas governor brought on Ruddy's colleague Stephen Goldsmith as chief domestic policy adviser on his campaign. Goldsmith, as Mayor of Indianapolis, had been an aggressive pioneer of faith-based and corporate outsourcing of social services, including abstinence-

Michael Reynolds's book Bad Faith, *on politics, money and the religious right, is due out from St. Martin's in 2008. Research support was provided by the Investigative Fund of The Nation Institute.*

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only education. During Goldsmith's failed bid for governor in 1996, he stumped Indiana with the slogan "I've been CEO of Indianapolis. I want to privatize all of Indiana." And he brought this approach into Bush's campaign.

"My Administration will elevate abstinence education from an afterthought to an urgent goal," Bush told a crowd in New Hampshire in November 1999. In a speech in Indianapolis, Bush promised, "In every instance where my Administration sees a responsibility to help people, we will look first to faith-based organizations, charities and community groups."

It just so happened that while Bush was pitching Goldsmith's dubious policies in New Hampshire and Indiana, Goldsmith was joining Ruddy on the board of directors of Maximus.

"Nineteen ninety-nine," recalls longtime Democratic Texas House member Garnet Coleman. "That was the year Maximus started handling enrollment for Medicaid and CHIP [Children's Health Insurance Program] here. At the same time as Bush was pushing all this corporate privatization, he started his faith-based initiative, moving state money into these churches and evangelical groups to handle drug treatment and children's homes. It was a disaster." Even then, Coleman adds, "it was clear to me the goal was—and is—to cut back social services and cut it to their friends to make a shitload of money."

When Bush slid into the presidency, Goldsmith, himself a Bush donor on the "Pioneer" level, left the Maximus board to assist Bush's transition team, where he was put in charge of setting up the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Bush tapped Tommy Thompson, who as governor of Wisconsin had hired Maximus to run one of his state's welfare privatization programs, to serve as HHS secretary. More important for Ruddy's antiabortion, abstinence-only agenda were the strategic HHS appointments of Claude Allen as deputy secretary and Wade Horn as assistant secretary for the Administration for Children and Families (ACF). Horn, as head of the National Fatherhood Initiative, had worked with Maximus; Allen, after rising to White House domestic policy adviser and then resigning, charged with theft, joined the Gerard staff.

Ruddy's ties at HHS were further strengthened when Horn brought in another National Fatherhood Initiative staffer, Jeffrey Trimbath, to head ACF's abstinence-only education program—and when one of Ruddy's project directors at Maximus, Grant Collins, was hired at HHS to oversee welfare contracts. These ties would prove lucrative in the coming years, not only in padding Maximus's bottom line but also in pushing Ruddy's right-wing religious agenda.

Ruddy's new coziness with HHS was on display in February 2006 at a conference of abstinence-only federal grantees in Arlington, Virginia, hosted by Trimbath. Horn delivered the keynote; Collins and his old boss at Maximus, Ruddy, led workshops. But these ties had been paying off for years. When Bush took office, Maximus had just over $13 million in federal contracts. Within a year the amount tripled. By 2006 Maximus was doing $61 million in business with the Bush Administration.

Over the past five years Ruddy has also spent nearly $1 million to make sure the Bush Administration and the Republican Congress were primed to fund his select network of "family values" projects. In 2002 Ruddy called on former Republican

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National Committee chair Haley Barbour at the offices of his lobbying powerhouse, Barbour Griffith & Rogers, tasking his team to seek "increased funding for abstinence-only education programs." Over the next four years Ruddy personally paid BG&R $720,000 to lobby HHS, the President and Congress. A year into BG&R's lucrative contract, the firm recruited Tommy Thompson's chief of staff, Robert Wood, to join the team on the Ruddy account. According to filings with Congress, Wood then worked his former colleagues on "federal welfare reform legislation," "federal funding for specific projects" (likely abstinence education programs) and "issues involving [the] President's global AIDS initiative." BG&R added Maximus to its client roster in 2005.

Ruddy also hired the Stanton Park Group, a lobbying outfit run by James "J.D." Derderian—a member, with Goldsmith, of the Bush transition team. Derderian was connected with Wade Horn, too, as they had served together on the board of directors of the Institute for Youth Development, one of several abstinence-only groups on Gerard's grantee list. Together, milking their inside connections, BG&R and Derderian saw to it that millions of federal dollars went to Ruddy's network of abstinence-only outfits and antiabortion crisis pregnancy centers.

Ruddy's cash went into a hardball anti-Kerry campaign, which attacked the Massachusetts Democrat for his prochoice politics.

As always, Ruddy returned the favor, putting his connections and financial muscle behind a Republican Party that was increasingly aligned with his ideological interests. In 2004 Ruddy began to mobilize his network of grantees for the coming elections, doing his part to implement Karl Rove's strategy of picking up 4 million evangelicals who had not gone to the polls in 2000. To achieve this, the Bush campaign created its own grassroots network among evangelical churches and religious-right nonprofits. Ruddy hired the Family Research Council's Donovan to put word out through antiabortion newsletters, promising Gerard grants to conservative charities that would develop ambitious voter registration drives.

That year Ruddy also shoveled nearly $400,000 into James Dobson's Focus on the Family, which was then mounting anti–gay marriage campaigns in service of Republican candidates through its 501(c)4 arm. Ruddy put $172,000 into Redeem the Vote, a voter registration operation out of Montgomery, Alabama, targeting evangelical youth, and $117,916 into Life, Liberty and Family, an old antiabortion nonprofit. The latter donation went into a hardball anti-Kerry campaign, Your Catholic Voice, which attacked the Massachusetts Democrat for his prochoice politics in newspaper ads that ran across the country. He also maxed out his personal contribution to the Bush/Cheney ticket ($4,000) and spread more than $12,000 to the campaigns of select religious-right Republicans running for Congress, including Tom Coburn in Oklahoma and Billy Tauzin in Louisiana. For the 2006 midterms, Ruddy put hundreds of thousands into Common Sense Ohio, a Republican 527 that ran deceptive ads and conducted push-polling in seven states.

With all this campaign largesse, Raymond Ruddy's sights were never set just on channeling government contracts to Maximus. He was also pulling strings to advance his ideological agenda—and the small circle of Christian-right groups he most trusted to deliver on it. The Virginia-based Institute for Youth Development and the Medical Institute for Sexual Health (MISH) in Texas have long been among his favorites: Between 2002 and 2005, Gerard put $716,148 into the Institute for Youth Development (IYD) and more than $1 million into MISH. The two organizations, not coincidentally, are also among the most well-connected Christian-right outfits within HHS.

MISH was founded in 1992 by Joe McIlhaney, a medical doctor and religiously motivated abstinence advocate who served as Bush's health adviser when he was governor of Texas. During that time McIlhaney toured the state on the Texas taxpayers' dime with a slide show featuring bogus data and gross-out images of sexually transmitted infections as "proof" that condoms were ineffective in preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease. In 2002 Bush appointed McIlhaney to his Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS and then as an adviser to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The IYD, which provides training to abstinence-only groups, crisis pregnancy centers, "healthy marriage" programs and other Bible-based ministries in how to snare government grants, is even more connected than McIlhaney. Wade Horn served on IYD's board of directors until he became ACF head in 2001 and remains on the editorial board of the organization's journal, *Adolescent and Family Health*. Alma Golden was editor in chief of the publication before being named deputy assistant HHS secretary for population affairs in 2002. Patricia Ware, once educational policy director at the organization, was tapped by Bush as executive director of his AIDS advisory council—on which IYD's vice president, Anita Smith, just happened to sit. (Smith later became the council's co-chair.) To put icing on the cake, IYD's chief subcontractor, Performance Results Inc., in Gaithersburg, Maryland, is run by Claudia Horn, Wade's wife.

Another Ruddy favorite is A Woman's Concern, into which Gerard poured another $1 million, accounting for a quarter of all donations to the Boston-area network of crisis pregnancy centers. Last fall, Bush named A Woman's Concern medical director Eric Keroack to replace Alma Golden at HHS, where the anti-contraception OB/GYN would oversee $283 million in annual grants to reproductive health and adolescent pregnancy programs. (Five months after his appointment, Keroack resigned, facing a Medicaid investigation.)

Over the past four years, Ruddy has dropped more than $700,000 into Heritage Community Services, a South Carolina network of crisis pregnancy centers that provide abstinence-only programs, making him the group's largest private donor.

With Barbour's and Derderian's firms greasing the wheels, Ruddy turned the federal government into a veritable matching fund for his grantees. For example, since Gerard was founded, in 2001, A Woman's Concern has received $1.5 million in federal grants for its abstinence-only program. Between 2002 and 2005, $9 million in federal grants went to Heritage Community Services. During this same period, MISH landed $1.5 million in federal

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grants and contracts. But of all Ruddy's favored abstinence-only groups, the IYD appears to have been the biggest federal beneficiary. In 2000 IYD had revenues of $270,000, $80,000 of that in government grants. Three years later IYD pulled in $4.1 million, nearly all—$3.8 million—coming in federal grants. Since Bush took office, IYD has received at least $11 million through HHS alone. Its partner organization, the Children's AIDS Fund, run by Anita Smith, has received at least $4 million from Bush's global AIDS initiative for faith-based abstinence programs in Uganda and Malawi—with more millions set to follow. In 2004 an expert panel for USAID rejected the Children's AIDS Fund grant application as "not suitable for funding," but the committee was swiftly overruled by USAID head Andrew Natsios, who ordered the grant be made to the Bush-connected Smith.

In many cases this federal money seemed to flow not just to conservative organizations but to line the pockets of social conservatives themselves. Claudia Horn, through her firm Performance Results Inc., collects $1,551 per day for training groups in program and curriculum evaluation. According to its federal filing, PRI's 2005 sales to state and local governments were $1.1 million, with an additional $250,000 coming from the Feds, including such clients as the Department of Justice, the Office of Personnel Management, and Housing and Urban Development. But Claudia Horn's indirect public receipts are likely even higher, as her-private sector clients include IYD and the National Fatherhood Initiative (once headed by her husband, Wade), each of which is heavily funded through federal grants.

Anne and Gordon Badgley, who received $9 million in federal grants for their nonprofit, Heritage Community Services, also set up Badgley Enterprises to market and sell their abstinence-only curriculum, Heritage Keepers. While Heritage's IRS 990s are sketchy and marked by vague expenses, even a student loan repayment, they clearly show that the Badgleys pocketed $174,201 from the taxpayer-funded nonprofit by buying the curriculum from their own private company.

Then there is Rosenberg Communications, headed by Wade Horn's longtime friend and co-author Jeffrey Rosenberg, who served as communications director at Horn's National Fatherhood Initiative. When Horn took his HHS job in 2001, Rosenberg launched his PR firm, which has since netted $8.8 million in contracts from HHS—contracts that account for the bulk of the two-man company's income. Rosenberg's client list is rounded out by some familiar names—most of them recipients of federal money: IYD, MISH, the Children's AIDS Fund, Gerard, Focus on the Family and Pal-Tech, which joined IYD to run HHS's multimillion-dollar capacity-building program for faith-based groups.

The IYD and the Children's AIDS Fund, though themselves nonprofits, have not been bad business for Shepherd and Anita Smith. Shepherd and Anita draw salaries and expenses from both groups: Shepherd as president of IYD and vice president of the Children's AIDS Fund; Anita, neatly, as president of the Fund and vice president of IYD. In 2003 their combined salaries were more than $200,000. To supplement that meager pay, each year since 2003 the Children's AIDS Fund has made substantial loans to the couple. The two groups also just happen to lease their shared offices in Sterling, Virginia, from an entity owned by the Smiths. According to IRS filings, the two nonprofits listed combined occupancy expenses of $66,000 for 1999. Two years later, the expenses jumped to $185,000, and by 2003 the two groups were paying a combined $203,000. Nonprofit experts contacted for this story said the huge jump in occupancy expenses combined with the fact that the two groups were paying a company owned by the Smiths raises a red flag.

The two organizations have long played a role in pushing socially conservative approaches to AIDS—mandatory HIV testing, opposition to condoms and needle exchange and an abstinence-only approach to HIV prevention—and questioning condom efficacy through the creative manipulation of data. IYD has also insinuated itself into some of the country's most conservative Statehouses. In 1998 Virginia Governor Jim Gilmore and Claude Allen, then his secretary of health, threw their state's entire $1.5 million sex-ed budget into IYD's abstinence-only school program along with a statewide television and radio campaign crafted by the group. An even more lucrative future was rising for the group in Texas, where IYD sold its Right Choices for Youth initiative to the state as part of then–Governor Bush's aggressive faith-based policy there. In March 1999, Bush gave the welcoming speech at an IYD conference in Dallas—a harbinger of the close relationship to come.

With Democrats now controlling Congress, this faith-based feeding trough may soon run dry. At press time, Democrats are poised to cut off one $50 million abstinence-only funding stream, through Title V, which requires renewal by June 30. Henry Waxman, the California Democrat who chairs the House government reform committee, is considering hearings on Bush's abstinence programs—hearings that could expose the conservative pork barrel they've become. Since February—perhaps to avoid those Waxman subpoenas—three ACF directors have resigned. First to leave was Jeffrey Trimbath, who jumped to a fundraising post with the Heritage Foundation. A month later Keroack vacated his post. Then on April 2 Wade Horn announced his resignation. But the revolving door of influence-peddling is still turning. Horn hired on with Deloitte Consulting, where according to a Deloitte statement he "will be a key advisor to health and human services clients of Deloitte Consulting's state government practice." Horn's former boss at HHS, Tommy Thompson, already heads Deloitte's Center for Health Solutions.

As investigations unfold over the summer and fall, the Institute for Youth Development will continue to serve as a conduit for HHS's Compassion Capital Fund, through which IYD disperses grants to a select group of well-connected evangelical abstinence-only and crisis pregnancy centers. The money IYD disperses can be used for just about anything these organizations might need—from computers, software and office equipment to administrative training. While federal guidelines prohibit the use of these funds for "religious activities"—worship or proselytizing—it's clear that the infrastructure for these evangelical outfits is being subsidized by taxpayers. Even if the funds are not immediately applied to religious purposes now, they will remain to serve those purposes down the road.

Without oversight and defunding from Congress, the money will continue to flow for the next five years into Raymond Ruddy's extended family of antiabortion, anti-condom, anti-gay, abstinence-only Protestant evangelicals and Catholics—a radical consortium that threatens the health of millions. ■

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LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
Hertzberg climb into a bathtub together and perform their own experiment. Turn on the faucet and watch the water level rise. Now turn it up more, so the tub is getting full. Then crank it back a little and turn it up again. Gee, the water just keeps rising! Like water that can't empty out of a drain, CO_2 gets stuck in our atmosphere because it has a lifetime of more than 100 years, and we keep pouring it in faster and faster. Since I've devoted my career to addressing this problem, I must be one of the "hoaxers." And I know what I'm after. Preserving a habitable planet for my children and Cockburn's grandchildren. DOUG COGAN
Director of Climate Change Research
Institutional Shareholder Services

Sherman Oaks, Calif.
■ Alexander Cockburn makes this absurd statement: "There is still zero empirical evidence that anthropogenic production of carbon dioxide is making any measurable contribution to the world's present warming trend." There is abundant evidence readily available. We even know that the excess CO_2 has a higher than normal ratio of carbon-12 to carbon-14 because the carbon-12 comes from the burning of fossil fuels—coal and oil buried in the earth so long that the C-14 has undergone radioactive decay.

His point that water is a more significant greenhouse gas may sound impressive, but the water cycle is so quick it makes no change in the global water content of the atmosphere. The carbon cycle, however, involves fossil fuels buried for millions of years. If we burn those carbon sources over a century or two, the results will be with us for a while. His quote "It is the warming of the Earth that is causing the increase of carbon dioxide and not the reverse" neglects the simple fact that if true, the warming of the Earth would be releasing oxygen from the oceans as well as CO_2. Since we find no corresponding rise in oxygen levels, we cannot infer that warming caused the increase in CO_2.

Worse yet is the statement that the ice age cycles are a part of a natural warming cycle. According the Milankovtich cycles, we should be returning to an Ice Age, not warming up. And we are now warming up almost thirty times faster than during any warming period since the Pleistocene. That rate of warming should worry us, for it is very difficult for natural (and human) systems to adapt to such rapid change. WENDY VAN NORDEN

Los Angeles
■ Can Alexander Cockburn tell us in which peer-reviewed journal Martin Hertzberg published his critique of global warming? Because Hertzberg's ideas were incorporated into existing climate models a long time ago, and they put no more of a dent into those models than a Nerf ball thrown at my Prius. Hertzberg is right that CO_2 is a minor component of the Earth's greenhouse gases, but he's wrong to dismiss its effect. Yes, water vapor is a potent greenhouse gas capable of absorbing more solar heat than the trace levels of CO_2. Water vapor levels will fluctuate wildly from day to day and place to place, but in the long run they don't change much overall. So any increase in CO_2 can still raise the Earth's temperature.

Hertzberg's claim that CO_2 increases lag behind previous periods of warming is true but silly. Those previous warmings weren't caused by fossil fuels. The coming warming will be, so it will be the first time the CO_2 increase precedes the warming. What Hertzberg doesn't tell us is that CO_2 levels are far higher today than they ever were at their peaks between ice ages. Only fossil fuels could have driven them that high.

Hertzberg is also right that warmer oceans release CO_2 into the air, but this is just a well-known example of positive feedback. In layman's terms, the warming of the Earth causes changes that lead to even more warming. (Feedback, a well-studied phenomenon, can work both ways.) As any scientist should know, the positive feedback he described doesn't challenge the original theory; it strengthens it. Readers can find plenty of resources. My favorite: www.realclimate.org. MIGUEL MUÑOZ

COCKBURN REPLIES

Petrolia, Calif.
■ In the end the whole debate stands or falls on the science—whether of Martin Hertzberg or Michael Mann. I have made an effort to understand the science of global warming, going back almost ten years, relying as any lay journalist should on people one reckons to be intellectually trustworthy and who make the soundest case. Science is not a privileged enclave, and the more strident the claims, the more inquisitive any decent journalist should be. I would have thought the history of science in service of the cold war had taught us that conclusively.

Fearmongering sells papers and magazines, which is at least in part why *Scientific American* and *The New Scientist* have disgraced themselves for years on global warming, as has the *New York Times*. We are at the point now where very substantial investments will be made in "CO_2 reduction"—a new opportunity zone for corporate pillage—and so it's vital to inquire whether there is in fact any measurable human responsibility for global warming; also whether the costly efforts would have the slightest measurable effect. The answer is, they would not.

In my first column I retailed the elegant refutation of anthropogenic CO_2 as the prime force in global warming by Dr. Martin Hertzberg, whom I first met in 2001 on a *Nation* cruise. (I mentioned the cruise partly to intimate that Hertzberg isn't a creature of the coal industry, since such people tend not to be *Nation* cruisers.) Ad hominem arguments on Hertzberg's scientific credentials are irrelevant and require no response. One should stick to the facts. Some critics have accused him of being a mouthpiece for the coal industry. That would come as a great surprise to coal companies, since in his career as a researcher for the Bureau of Mines, he was a persistent thorn in their side, advocating for much more stringent regulations to protect the health and safety of coal miners.

As regards Cogan's "bathtub" argument, let me repeat my last column, where I wrote, "I should acknowledge one imprecision in my description of Dr. Martin Hertzberg's graph in my first column—'the smoothly rising curve of CO_2'—which prompted several intemperate responses, charging that I couldn't possibly expect CO_2 or carbon levels to drop just because of a one-third cut in manmade CO_2. Indeed, I should have written 'one could not even see a 1 part per million bump in the smoothly rising curve.' Even though such transitory influences as day and night or seasonal variations in photosynthesis cause clearly visible swings in the curve, the 30 percent drop between 1929 and 1932 caused not a ripple: empirical scientific evidence that the human contribution is in fact less than a fart in a hurricane, as Dr. Hertzberg says."

As Hertzberg points out, the lady from Sherman Oaks has Milankovitch all wrong. We have seven or eight more days on the summer side of the solstices than on the winter side, giving more solar heating in Northern Hemispheric summer, and thus we are coming off an ice age and going into a warming period.

The assertion that CO_2 has a lifetime of 100 years is incorrect. I recommend Dr. Jeffrey Glassman's article in *Rocket Scientist's Journal* strongly supporting our argument that "increased carbon dioxide has been an effect of global warming, not a cause." Glassman's article is the most comprehensive analysis of the Vostok ice-core data available, and his best estimate of the average lag of the CO_2 behind the temperature is 1,073 years. He also, in the subsequent discussion, gives a residence time for CO_2 in the atmosphere of 1.5 to 2.0 years.

Since Glassman is himself a modeler, he knows the tricks of the trade. He refers to their machinations as their "history of commandeering" and refers to their global climate models (GCMs) as "greenhouse catastrophe models." The models have no predictive value in the real world and are as phony as three-dollar bills.

The prime tactic of the greenhousers is to spray phrases like "virtually unanimous scientific consensus" to imply that any challenge to the theory of anthropogenic global warming is flat-earthery. This is entirely untrue. Climatologists and atmospheric physicists (of whom there are not many on the IPCC panel) are divided on the issue. The greenhousers' substantive function has been to smooth the road for the nuclear power industry. I notice none of my critics venture onto that terrain—the topic of my second column.

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The State of Zionism

BRIAN KLUG

On June 20, 2006, at the thirty-fifth World Zionist Congress, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert welcomed the delegates—representatives of Jewish organizations from around the world—to "Jerusalem, which is Zion, the beating heart, and the object of yearning and prayers of the Jewish people for generations." Recalling the first congress, convened by Theodor Herzl in 1897, Olmert said, "There is a straight line between Basel and Jerusalem, the line of political Zionism, whose aim was the return of the Jewish people to the stage of history as an independent and sovereign nation, which takes its fate into its own hands, in the Land of Israel, the heritage of our forefathers."

Herzl's seminal 1896 pamphlet *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*, better translated as "The Jews' State" or "The State of the Jews") was subtitled "An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question." The indefinite article is misleading. Herzl wrote to Bismarck, "I believe I have found the solution to the Jewish Question. Not *a* solution, but *the* solution, the only one." Decades later, Nazi Germany pursued its own "final solution" to the Jewish question: extermination. This gruesome project and its grisly success—the murder of roughly two-thirds of European Jews and the destruction of Jewish community life on much of the Continent—propelled Herzl's proposal to the foreground of international affairs. Within three years of Hitler's defeat, the State of Israel was created. But has this settled the question?

Not according to Olmert. In his address to the World Zionist Congress, he declared that the question will not be resolved until "every Jew in the world" comes to live in Israel and "all the peoples of the region" accept Israel's "right to exist as a Jewish state." Since neither condition has yet been met, "we must gather to discuss the 'Jewish question' here at the thirty-fifth Zionist Congress as well."

Must we? Or must we, on the contrary, stop giving legitimacy to the question itself, which tends to insinuate that we Jews are a problem people, like a problem child? And even if the question was inescapable in Herzl's day, even if Europe forced it on Jews by alternately offering and withholding emancipation, and promoting or permitting anti-Semitism, is this the question that faces us—Jews and non-Jews—today? Or is it not Herzl's solution that is in question?

Every element in Olmert's address to the Zionist Congress is questionable, beginning with the slide from Zion, ancient religious and poetic heart of Jewish dispersion, to Zionism, modern political movement for the liberation of the Jewish people. Could it be that Zionism, "whose aim was the return of the Jewish people to the stage of history," is caught in a time warp? Could Israel, under its influence, be continually undermining itself, while millions of Jews who have no say in the matter are implicated in its policies? (Is this what is meant by a nation "which takes its fate into its own hands"?) What, in short, if our "liberation" entraps us in an illusion?

Furthermore, contrary to Olmert, the line that leads from Basel to Jerusalem has

BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY

THE TRAGEDY OF ZIONISM: How Its Revolutionary Past Haunts Israeli Democracy (second edition).
By Bernard Avishai.
Helios. 389 pp. Paper $16.95.

THE QUESTION OF ZION.
By Jacqueline Rose.
Princeton. 208 pp. Paper $14.95.

A THREAT FROM WITHIN: A Century of Jewish Opposition to Zionism.
By Yakov M. Rabkin.
Zed. 261 pp. $27.50.

BOOKING PASSAGE: Exile and Homecoming in the Modern Jewish Imagination.
By Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi.
California. 358 pp. $45.

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been anything but straight. Since its birth more than a century ago, Zionism has veered from secular to religious and from left to right, with tangents that have not altogether disappeared. It has led, on the one hand, to a fight against British imperial power, while it has resulted, on the other hand, in the dispossession and dispersion of Palestine's indigenous Arab population. And the Jewish state created by the Zionist movement has become increasingly woven into the tangled web of Western influence in the Middle East, with Israel now serving as a Mediterranean Fort Laramie in America's "war on terror."

Tragically, the same line has led from the walled ghettos of Europe to the West Bank barrier, separating Jews from the surrounding Arab population; and it has failed to secure Israel's integration into the region—to the point where Israel fashions itself as a "villa in the middle of the jungle," in Ehud Barak's revealing image. Not that integration is entirely within Israel's control. No modern state could adapt sufficiently to satisfy the extreme demands of radical Shiite fundamentalism, and no prudent state could disregard the bellicose pronouncements of Iranian president (and Holocaust denier) Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Nonetheless, Israel's existence has been accepted, however grudgingly, by most of its neighbors. In March the Arab League reiterated its commitment to peace and normal relations if Israel withdraws from the land it has occupied since 1967 and agrees to both the creation of a Palestinian state and a "just solution" for displaced Palestinians. Yet Israel has largely dismissed the Saudi peace initiative since its launch in 2002 and persists in behavior—inside and outside its (still undeclared) borders—that entrenches its isolation.

In his speech to the Zionist Congress, Olmert affirmed "the unification of the Jewish people with the State of Israel." This is the nub of Zionism: a Gordian knot of seamless identity. But with the fortieth anniversary of the occupation this month, and one year after a landmark war in which Hezbollah fought the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to a standstill, not only is Olmert waging a desperate battle for his political future but Zionism, the official ideology of the Jewish state, is in crisis. The crisis threatens the future of Israel as a "normal" state, deepens the oppression of the Palestinians, fuels conflict in the region, feeds Muslim-Jewish tensions abroad and (as recent controversies in the United States, Britain and elsewhere demonstrate) rancorously divides Jew against Jew. For all these reasons, we need to understand the trajectory of this movement. Where did it begin? What has it become? And can the Gordian knot at its heart be untied?

In the early days of Zionism, two different trends, cultural and political, jostled with each other, as Bernard Avishai reminds us in *The Tragedy of Zionism*, his magisterial retelling of the movement's development, now available in its second edition. On the one hand, "Zionist theories, institutions, and language… were meant to advance a wide-spectrum revolution: against Rabbinic scholasticism, anti-Semitism, Yiddishkeit, softness." Like Communism and other ideologies to which European Jews flocked, Zionism sought, for better or worse, to transform the whole character of Jewish life. On the other hand, there was the aspiration for a homeland. But on the most basic constitutional question—to be or not to be a Jewish state—opinion was divided.

Early Zionists agreed on the need to radically transform Jewish life. As to whether that required a Jewish state, opinion was divided.

Thus, in the 1930s, the radical Labor Zionist party Ha'Shomer Ha'Tzair (The Young Guardians) supported a binational state with Palestinian Arabs. Among other Zionists who shared this view were Judah Magnes, first chancellor of Hebrew University, and philosopher Martin Buber. Even David Ben-Gurion, the key figure in Labor Zionism, the man who was to become Israel's first prime minister, "did not at first reject the idea."

With the creation of the State of Israel, proclaimed on May 14, 1948, the die was cast. But it was a crucially ambiguous moment: Was this the culmination of Zionism or its reinvention as a state? It turned out to be the latter. "It would be wrong," says Avishai, "to confuse Israel with the movement that produced it." Indeed, he describes Labor Zionism as "a good revolution that long ago ran its course" and believes that "historic Zionism" has "radically, and for the better," changed Jewish culture. Be that as it may, this confusion between movement and state, in my view, is precisely the "tragedy" to which Avishai's title refers.

The confusion goes both ways. On the one hand, the State of Israel is not just a state; it is the focal point of a movement. Any normal country should be a home for its citizens, enabling them to get on with their lives. But Israel is something more than this for many Jews around the world (and something less for millions of Palestinians who live within its extended borders): It is a transcendent ideal, the "state of the Jewish people," an object of their unqualified love.

On the other hand, the movement turned into a state. Zionist concepts and principles were incorporated into national institutions, public policy and basic laws, notably the Law of Return, which allows any Jew in the world to make aliyah (immigrate; literally "ascend") and automatically become a citizen. This has driven a sharp wedge between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens, creating, according to Israeli academic Oren Yiftachel and others, an "ethnocracy": a country that effectively belongs to one ethnic group. Others describe Israel as an "ethnic democracy." For Palestinian citizens of the Jewish state, it comes to the same thing: They are second-class citizens, subject, as novelist David Grossman said at the Rabin memorial in Tel Aviv in November 2006, to a "deeply ingrained institutionalized racism." Some steps have been taken in recent years to mitigate these inequalities. Nevertheless, Israel remains "the state of the Jewish people."

Because of this confusion (or fusion) between movement and state, Zionism was reinvigorated when, after the 1967 war, Israel suddenly found itself in control of new territories, the so-called Jewish heartland of biblical Judea and Samaria. The capture of these territories and the "unification" of Jerusalem were understood as national restitution by many secular Zionists for whom the Bible is a national epic. And as Avishai observes, many religious Jews, such as the leaders of Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), "young men with gleaming eyes," believed that "the Promised Land was united and the Messiah was at hand." Within a short time, settlements were being established by religious Jews who viewed themselves as heirs of the original *chalutzim* (Jewish pioneers)—with a wink and a nod from Israel's Labor government. It was a turning point in the history of the movement and of the state.

I remember the period well. It was as if all of Jewry had linked arms and was dancing the hora together. (For a while I, too, was part of the joyful circle.) But this embrace between the religious and the secular was not merely a marriage of convenience. The bonds were more than skin-deep; they were inscribed in the flesh of the movement by the circumstances of its birth and by the language in which it told its own story.

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Zionism is a hope born of despair. Taking ethnic nationalism as its rubric, it is a child of its times. But fundamentally, it is the stepchild of anti-Semitism. As Jacqueline Rose observes in *The Question of Zion*, "no discussion of Zionism can make sense" if it does not start here. Only then can we begin to understand the hold that Zionism has over its adherents and its resistance to any whisper of self-doubt. As Rose writes: "How do you begin to address…the problem of a political identity whose strength in the world…relies on its not being able, or willing, to question itself?" The title of her book (an homage to Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine*) can be heard as an elliptical expression of a wish: Would that Zionism could become a question! The question of Zion is a desideratum.

Rose's conundrum can be put this way: How do you address an identity when people fear they will fall apart without it? How do you ask them to be uncertain about something they affirm precisely because it relieves them of uncertainty: the predicaments and insecurities of existence as a Jew? "We are a nation now, and there's an end to it!" says the collective voice. How do you get a hearing when this voice is so insistent and when you are unsettling an idea that was supposed to have settled the issue once and for all, an idea that is practically sacred: Israel, seen not merely as the "solution" to "the Jewish question" but (recall Olmert's opening words to the Zionist Congress) as the answer to a Jewish prayer?

I say "prayer." Call it a hope, if you will; but when hope is conceived in the midst of despair, then it amounts to prayer, even if it is not addressed to heaven. It becomes, in Rose's phrase, "a secular prayer." "I am totally secular," said David Grossman in his Rabin memorial speech, "and yet in my eyes the establishment and the very existence of the State of Israel is a miracle of sorts." A miracle (of sorts) in answer to a prayer (of sorts): The hold of Zionism, with Israel as its expression, is not intelligible unless it is seen in this light.

Zionism arose from disillusionment with European modernity, or more precisely, with Europe as the site of the modern. (In a way, when Herzl spoke of a modern solution, what he meant was this: "If we Jews cannot have Europe in Europe then we shall have it in another place.") The foundations for despair had been laid for centuries. But the sense of betrayal had become unbearably acute by the late nineteenth century, with the intensification of pogroms and the rise of anti-Jewish legislation in Eastern Europe; the formation of openly anti-Semitic political parties in Western Europe; and the Dreyfus case in France. And none felt more betrayed than secular, assimilated Jews such as Herzl.

On the face of it, the ambitions of early Zionism could hardly be more different from—even opposed to—the age-old messianic hope in Judaism for divine intervention. The "wide-spectrum revolution" of which Avishai speaks was, by and large, aggressively secular. This implied not only rejection of religion in general but also a specific quarrel with Jewish particularism: the idea of the Jews as a people apart, quietly existing as *am hasefer* (people of the book), patiently suffering until the coming of the Messiah in God's good time.

Zionism began as a secular movement, but it has always been tinged with messianism, and this tendency has only increased since 1967.

For this reason, as Yakov Rabkin explains in *A Threat From Within*, rabbis generally spurned the new movement. (Some strands, especially among the ultra-Orthodox, still do, as Rabkin meticulously documents: a useful reminder at a time when it almost seems as if Judaism has converted to Zionism.) It is true that, virtually from the outset, there was a small religious presence within the Zionist movement in the form of the Mizrachi Organization, and that Rabbi Abraham Kook, the spiritual ancestor of the post-1967 religious settlers, gave the movement his blessing. But the aim of the Zionist revolution was, in large part, to put an end to the old way of life, not just to create a new future for Jews but to craft a "new Jew" for the future. The new Jews would not speak Yiddish, much less Arabic or Ladino, but Hebrew, a properly "national" language, the language of the ancestors. Jews would be like other people; they would be normal. This sounds like a Jewish joke. But normalization was the hope that animated the mainstream of the Zionist movement.

However, as Rose perceptively points out, "messianism colors Zionism, including secular Zionism, at every turn." This coloring affects its most basic vocabulary. In the Bible "Zion," initially the name of one of the hills of Jerusalem, refers poetically to the city itself and by extension to the whole of the Promised Land—indeed, to the land as promised in the context of an eschatological narrative of return. "The very name of the movement," the late liberal rabbi and scholar Arthur Hertzberg observed in *The Zionist Idea*, "evoked the dream of an end of days, of an ultimate release from the exile and a coming to rest in the land of Jewry's heroic age." So, too, did "the very name of the nation," as Rose points out. Calling it Israel (rather than, say, Western Palestine) conjures up the eternal hope of an eternal people in an everlasting covenant with God. Moreover, the rhetoric of messianism—"ingathering of the exiles," "redemption of the land"—is part and parcel of the political lexicon of this movement-cum-state.

This is not to deny that Zionism gives this vocabulary "a radically new meaning," as Hertzberg insisted. Of course it does. But the phrases have a life of their own. The genius of Zionism is that it speaks the familiar language of tradition with a revolutionary accent. This makes its message ineluctably poetic: It constantly stirs the waters beneath the surface of its words, arousing emotions that, in their ambiguity and volatility, unite left and right, religious and secular—even when, like *mishpocheh* (an extended family), they are at each other's throats. In unison, all rise to sing the national anthem, whose title, "Hatikvah," means precisely "the hope." In short, Zionism at heart is, as Rose writes, a "collective passion," an authentic reaction (one among several) to anti-Semitism, one whose flexible language has enabled it to evolve after 1967 from secular left to religious right. Its variety has not disappeared, nor are the differences between the various camps immaterial. But they are apt to merge with or adapt to each other as circumstances change and as passion dictates.

Just as Zionist concepts and principles were translated into Israeli law and institutions, so its passion—its "prayer"—persists as a dominant mindset, shaping national policy and systematically deforming Israel's dealings with the Palestinians and neighboring Arab states. For who are the Palestinians—who are the Arabs?—in a worldview transplanted from the Jewish historical experience in Europe to a region that, for reasons having nothing to do with European anti-Semitism, is hostile to the presence of a Jewish state? Certainly, as neighbors and enemies, the Arabs are real. But simultaneously they are demonic characters in a recurring nightmare: cossacks on horseback attacking the shtetl, jackbooted Nazis enacting another *Kristallnacht*. It is difficult enough to make peace with flesh-and-blood enemies. But how do you negotiate with ghosts? How can a phantom be a partner for peace?

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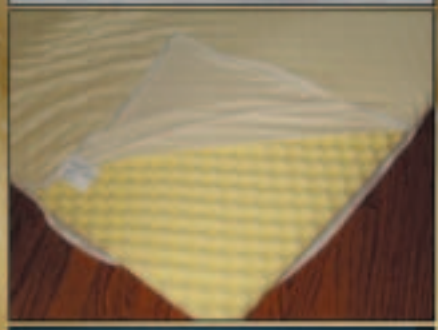

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And what is Israel in this phantasmagorical landscape? Not merely a state at odds with its neighbors but the persecuted "Jew among nations," as Alan Dershowitz and others argue. The trouble with their argument is that the more it succeeds as a defense of Israel, the more it fails as a defense of Zionism; for if Israel is the old Jew writ large, an eternal victim of an eternal anti-Semitism, then the movement has failed its own test. Herzl's vision was not to export the so-called Jewish question from Europe to the Middle East but (as Olmert reminded the Zionist Congress) to *solve* it.

There are, to be sure, critics of Israel who are motivated by hatred of Jews, just as there are Arab and Muslim opponents of the state who have embraced *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Holocaust revisionism to underwrite their hostility. But by and large, both the fate of the state and its reputation are more in its own hands than we are led to think by "defenders" of Israel who, lovingly polishing its image as if this were its very being, cannot bear to hear that Israel is ever culpable. Not that they view the Jewish state as powerless in its own defense; on the contrary, the critical difference between the "new" Jew and "old" (as they see it) is that tough Israel does not go like a lamb to the slaughter. But nor (they insist) does it go like the slaughterer to the lamb; not even when the IDF launches airstrikes against targets in densely populated civilian neighborhoods in Gaza or invades Lebanon and lays waste its infrastructure. In the dominant mindset that I am describing, Israel's hand is forced by hate-filled enemies, and nothing it can do will assuage that hate.

Thus, paradoxically, the reliance that Israel places on power derives from its sense of powerlessness: the conviction that it is condemned to be hated, that every apparent thaw in its relations with its neighbors is a cunning Arab stratagem and that the Palestinians are simply waiting to throw the Jews into the sea. This, mutatis mutandis, is the same conviction about Europe that gave rise to Zionism in the first place. Sticking to its stock narrative of the Jewish past, this state-cum-movement is frozen in time on the shifting "stage of history," in Olmert's phrase.

In his recent account of the Arab-Israeli conflict, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace*, former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami observes, "Israel could never really decide whether she was an intimidating regional superpower or just an isolated and frightened Jewish ghetto waiting for the next pogrom to happen." Deep down it is both: the "old" Jew within the "new," the implacable despair coiled like an incubus inside the Zionist hope.

Yet according to the Zionist script, it is hope triumphant: The wandering Jews have come home, and the Citadel of David has fallen into their hands. In *Booking Passage*, a study of the "poetics of exile and return" in the modern Jewish imagination, Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi locates Zionism on the mental map of a people who, for 2,000 years, have seen themselves as "on the road," forever longing for Jerusalem. What happens when spiritual longing is replaced by material fulfillment? What becomes of Zion, "the beating heart" (Olmert) of the Jewish people, when it is possessed, when its status changes from poetic center to capital city? Can its heart continue to beat? Or does it atrophy into a trophy that must not, at any cost, be surrendered? The Zion of the Psalms lies on the horizon, where heaven and earth appear to meet. "When this poetic image *denies its status as poetry*," writes Ezrahi, "it makes such claims on the political imagination that the 'final status' of Jerusalem becomes non-negotiable."

If, as Alan Dershowitz and others argue, Israel is the old Jew writ large, condemned to be hated, then Zionism has failed its own test.

If in this triumphalist script Arabs in general are the foil to the "miracle" of Israel's birth, then the 1.4 million Israeli citizens who are Palestinian (about a fifth of the population) are the remnant within. They are "insider outsiders," a phrase with historical resonance for Jews. (The nearly 4 million Palestinians in the occupied territories and East Jerusalem, neither inside nor outside, are left in limbo.) Thus, the national myth divides the Israeli people against itself. As do the symbols of state. Hundreds of thousands of Arab children in Israeli schools "are expected to sing an anthem that ignores their very existence," as veteran peace activist Uri Avnery wrote after this year's Yom Ha'atzmaut (Independence Day). There are many Israelis for whom "Hatikvah" means despair.

Yet Palestinian citizens of Israel ("Israeli Arabs") are not just figments in another people's narrative. As Ezrahi points out, they are themselves "narrating subjects" with a stake in the country they call home: Israel. In an eloquent appeal for inclusiveness, she refers to "the Arab voices that have begun to be heard." Yet there is reason to think that Azmi Bishara, the leader of the Arab Balad Party and a former Knesset member who is now in exile to avoid prosecution on charges of treason, is being pursued for "aiding the enemy" during the most recent Lebanon war primarily because he has promoted the view that Israel should become a "state for all its citizens." Yuval Diskin, head of the Shin Bet security service, has reportedly gone so far as to describe Israeli Palestinians as a "strategic threat" to the state. And recent documents calling for recognition and equality, such as the "Future Vision" report by the Committee of Arab Mayors in Israel, have largely fallen on ears deafened by fear.

These documents are not the last word on how Israel should reconfigure itself. But the fear they inspire inhibits open debate. *Au fond*, it is Israel's fear of abandoning its Zionist script; fear of being a normal country, one that is home to all its citizens; fear of equality, of an inclusive and open-ended society that evolves into something that is and is not Jewish. But if Israel cannot give up this fear, what hope is there for the future? A state that does not believe in its own possibility, except as a perpetual interloper at odds with its neighbors, has no future.

For forty years, Israel's occupation has dominated the national agenda and the international perception of the state. In one way, this has been a distraction from the deeper question of the national myth and how the state defines itself. But ultimately it concentrates the mind, for as Avishai argues, it is "the persistence of Zionist principles—or at least over-simplified versions of them—which engendered the political climate in which the West Bank settlers took up their cause."

Zionism is not all of a piece. There are Zionists strongly opposed to the settlers and the occupation. But the momentum of the movement has brought it to this pass; the line that began in Basel has led to Nablus. It is time to cut the cord and begin anew. For the sake of everyone concerned, whether there are two states or three states or one, Israel needs to shed the burden of Jewish fears and hopes and become its own state pursuing its own good for its own people—all of them equally.

Jews around the world need Israel to do this too. They certainly do not need the kind of "protection" given by Olmert, who during the Lebanon war last summer said, "I believe that this is a war that is fought by all the Jews." He implicated the whole of Jewry in a military campaign that in-

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flamed the opinion of millions of people around the world. Is this the "solution" to "the Jewish question"? Is this Israel coming to the rescue of Jews in distress?

The Zionist doctrine that the State of Israel must be the "center" of Jewish life, or that "every Jew in the world" (as Olmert said to the World Zionist Congress) must make aliyah, or that Jews are self-hating if they do not show "solidarity" with the Jewish state, or that Jewish identity in the Diaspora is incomplete—all of this prevents a normal conception of life, as a Jew, outside Israel. The very term "diaspora" is misleading. Israel certainly has one: At least 350,000 Israelis living in the New York area are part of it. But I (a British Jew or Jewish Brit), for example, am not.

At the heart of the crisis of Zionism is the axiom that Israel and the Jewish people are central to each other's identity. How do you pry apart a knot as closely knit as this—a Gordian knot that has no ends? Partly by remembering the venerable idea of the Jewish people as centered on a book—the Torah—and not a state; partly by observing how Jewish life, secular and religious, is flourishing in ways that are not focused on Israel; and partly by looking in an unexpected place: The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, where the principle of equality, like a shining light, burns a hole through the middle of the document.

The text proclaims "complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants." If someone wants to say that this is what they mean by Zionism, they are welcome to the word. To adapt a remark of Wittgenstein's: Say what you choose, so long as it does not prevent you from seeing the light. But on the whole, it is better to let go of the word along with the illusion. Jewish ethnic nationalism is no solution to the problems we face today, while the name "Zionism" evokes as much fear and loathing as love and pride. We cannot formulate today's questions in yesterday's language.

It is time to move on. I like to think that forty years from now, under the aegis of full civil equality, Arab and Hebrew cultures will thrive and mingle together in the area currently called Israel and Palestine. It seems like a pipe dream. But a phrase of Herzl's comes to mind: "*Wenn ihr vollt, Ist es kein Märchen*"—If you will it, it is not a dream. His motto gives us hope. ■

Smells Like Teen Spirit

MARK SORKIN

TEENAGE: The Creation of Youth Culture. By Jon Savage. Viking. 549 pp. $29.95.

Are the kids all right? Careful, that's a trick question. Your answer will probably reveal more about you than it will about the next generation. Kids tend to elicit pangs of anxiety (if not outright moral panic) in people over 30; they are the promise and the threat of what's to come, citizens-in-training whose potential must be harnessed lest they burn the place to the ground. You don't hear many complaints about this arrangement from the grade-school set, provided you bribe them with snacks and playtime, but adolescents aren't as easily pacified. As British historian Jon Savage amply demonstrates in *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture*, it's in their nature to talk back.

A colorful though scattershot portrait of youth in the modern era, *Teenage* documents the impact of roughly seventy years of social, political, military and economic convulsions on young people in four Western societies: the United States, Britain, Germany and France. Tracing the "prehistory" of youth culture from its nineteenth-century roots to the end of World War II—at which point, Savage claims, most narratives on the subject begin—the book tracks a loose dialectic between moralistic attempts to control adolescent behavior and the forms of resistance such efforts have engendered.

Savage, author of *England's Dreaming*, the definitive history of British punk, clearly has a keen ear for subcultural rumblings and an appetite for archival research. But in *Teenage* he bites off more than he can chew. Whereas *England's Dreaming* offered a thrilling, deliriously exhaustive profile of a single movement, *Teenage* attempts to provide a comprehensive treatment of modern youth movements and winds up with a rather motley crew. Savage's sympathies lie where you'd expect them to: with bohemian "decadents" like Rimbaud and Oscar Wilde; with the Wandervogel, a youth-run group that rejected imperial Germany and looked for utopia in the countryside; with the party-hopping American flappers and their British counterparts, the Bright Young People—that is, with all those who, like 22-year-old John Dos Passos, were repulsed by "the swaggering old fogies in frock-coats" who ran the world.

But while Savage's heart is in the right place, it's not clear that these bands of outsiders belong on the same historical stage. Though they shared an exclamatory *non serviam* and happened to come of age at about the same time, their milieus, motivations and modes of expression were vastly diverse. Ditto for those who played by the era's militarist rules, such as the British Boy Scouts, the legions who rushed off to the slaughterhouse of World War I and the Hitler Youth. And what of those who don't quite fit in with the "decadent" misfits or the "muscular Christian" conformists? At what cafeteria table do we seat the working-class "factory fodder" and the slum-dwelling "hooligans," whose heightened visibility prompted a wave of hysteria and opened the path toward juvenile courts and child labor laws? The anecdotes Savage relates in his epic prologue are insightful and engaging, but the narrative string that holds them together is noticeably thin.

What unites the teens in Savage's inclusive hodgepodge is not a cause but a condition: They were all being funneled into an emerging youth market. This thread of the story begins in 1904, when American psychologist G. Stanley Hall published a landmark study that defined adolescents as a distinct social group, and culminates in 1944, with the commodification of the teen ideal in the premiere issue of *Seventeen* magazine. As new forms of mass entertainment sprouted up in the first decades of the twentieth century, American high schoolers—followed soon after by their European peers—flocked to the nickelodeons, the magazine racks and the dance halls. Were teens creating a new market, or was the market creating a new demographic? It was hard to tell, since the feedback loop was so rapid and so intense. "America's youth were perfectly complicit in this process," Savage writes, "flexing their generational muscle by taking advantage of their new freedoms, then seeing their behavior reinforced on screen or in popular cartoons like Carl Ed's *Harold Teen*." Savage seems to suggest that teenagers used their newfound consumerism to their own, often subversive ends, an intriguing argument that he hints at but doesn't fully explore.

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If "the dawn of adolescence is marked by a special consciousness of sex," as Hall proposed, then it made good business sense for Hollywood to titillate its youthful audience. Hence the runaway success of celluloid dreamboat Rudolph Valentino, the first in a long line of American pop icons who enshrined their sex appeal by dying young (in 1926 a mob of 90,000 mostly female fans stormed his funeral). Prohibition-era chaperones, of course, glowered at the eroticization of teen culture, particularly when it came to the flappers and their flirtation with "race music," industry code for African-American popular music at the time: In the early 1920s the *Ladies' Home Journal* waged a campaign against the "wriggling movement and sensuous stimulation of the abominable big jazz orchestra"; a decade later the Catholic bishop of Dubuque, Iowa, condemned swing as "evil" and "communistic." Naturally, Europeans went mad for the stuff. Two decades before US troops landed at Normandy, American youth culture swept across the Old World; like the epidemic in Ishmael Reed's *Mumbo Jumbo*, it "jes grew."

But not for long. As Hitler cast his shadow over Europe, the forces of youth liberation retreated. In Germany the Nazi Party put a horrifying stop to the roiling modernism that flourished in the Weimar era: By 1933 nearly 3.5 million Germans had joined the Hitler Youth; three years later anyone under 18 who wasn't a member was branded an enemy of the state. With Hitler's terror spreading through the Continent, the wild exploits of the German "Swing Kids" and the dandified Zazous of Vichy France became not simply daring but dangerous. Savage rightly celebrates these underground clubs, along with more explicitly political groups like the White Rose, a student network that littered Munich University with anti-Nazi leaflets and graffiti and whose leaders, most famously Sophie Scholl and her brother Hans, paid the ultimate price.

Savage draws no parallels between his subjects and their contemporary counterparts, but the similarities and differences are everywhere apparent. A discussion of copycat crimes following the premiere of *The Great Train Robbery*, for example, presages ongoing debates about the impact of media violence on youth, and the fascinating case of teen murderers Leopold and Loeb eerily echoes our own era's Columbine and Virginia Tech shootings. When I read that the social stratification of Midwestern teens in the early 1940s mirrored their parents' class system, I could almost hear the soundtrack to *The Breakfast Club* humming in the background.

Needless to say, in the years since 1945 the intergenerational tensions Savage so scrupulously illustrates have only intensified. Adolescents remain the locus of heated arguments over everything from abstinence education to the nutritional content of the Whopper, and anyone who has seen the words PORN STAR written across the chest of a 14-year-old knows exactly what the billion-dollar juggernaut of the teen market is peddling. Like their forebears, today's teens form a dissonant chorus whose sentiments are homegrown and often hard to discern. We can get a sense of their tastes, frustrations and demands when we peer into their Facebook profiles or tune in to the screams of the Deaniacs and the riotous cries from Clichy-sous-Bois. Savage does not tell us what they're saying, but he makes it clear that we'd do well to listen up. Soon enough, we'll be taking our cues from them. ■

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ART

Breaking and Entering

BARRY SCHWABSKY

The artist and musician Laurie Anderson, ostensibly reminiscing about her friend Gordon Matta-Clark's style as a conversationalist, handily summarized his work as an artist: "He really liked fragments.... He was a deconstructionist; his approach was to pull things apart. And I think when you pull things apart you can really see what's there." Matta-Clark is the subject of an exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art (through June 3; the show then travels to the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art). You'll find lots of fragments there, sometimes in the bluntest, most literal way—for instance, pieces of walls and floors sliced out of their architectural contexts and quite simply standing there in all their raw vulnerability—but often pieced together into new and complex wholes.

More important than the fragments, though, are the spaces left behind by their removal. Matta-Clark is the artist who is most famous for having carved a house in half from top to bottom so that the two halves split apart, opening a gap between them through which, if you'd been there to peek in, you could "really see what's there." Just as Robert Smithson, the subject of a fine recent retrospective that also appeared at the Whitney, left a single iconic work that everyone knows, *Spiral Jetty* (1970), along with a mass of equally fascinating works for the cognoscenti to immerse themselves in, so did his slightly younger, equally meteoric colleague. In Matta-Clark's case, the iconic work was *Splitting* (1974), an early example of the sculptures he made by cutting through existing (though usually about-to-be demolished) buildings: Over a period of about three months, he made two parallel vertical cuts straight through

Barry Schwabsky, an American art critic and poet living in London, is co-editor of the international review section of Artforum. *His most recent book is* Vitamin P: New Perspectives in Painting.

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the middle of a nondescript two-story suburban house in Englewood, New Jersey, removing the material left between the cuts as well as some of the foundation blocks on which the house stood so that one half slightly tilted away from the other, creating a wedge-shaped aperture between them. He also cut away the four upper corners of the house, subsequently exhibiting them as free-standing objects.

Like the spiral-shaped earthwork Smithson built in the Great Salt Lake, Matta-Clark's gesture is simple to describe, hard to execute and larger than life—crazy, almost hallucinatory. In contrast to Smithson's piece, it was not about adding something to existing place but about taking something away; not imposing a new reality but exposing more of the reality that is already there. In this, his work turns out to be a surprising extension of an old sculptural idea, one that would have been familiar to Michelangelo: that "carving is an articulation of something that already exists in the block," as Adrian Stokes put it in his book *Stones of Rimini*, back in 1934. For Stokes, an emphasis on carving over modeling was the hallmark of modern sculpture, and he even maintained that "a carving approach to the canvas…underlay the modern movement in painting" even more than in sculpture—though of course in his day no painter had ever taken a blade to his canvas for any other reason than to rid the world and his own reputation of a botched effort. That wouldn't happen until the '50s, when the Argentine-Italian artist Lucio Fontana began slashing and gouging holes in canvases that were sometimes elegantly monochromatic, sometimes gaudily encrusted with bits of glass—always with the intention of opening the virtual space of the picture up to the reality of the surrounding space, including the wall, the architectural support that pictures normally hide.

A different way of articulating reality by cutting through material was soon seen in Yoko Ono's *Cut Piece*, performed several times beginning in 1964, in which an audience was invited to cut away at the artist's clothing, an act with social and psychological overtones one can well imagine. That Ono had the sculptural tradition of carving in mind is confirmed by something she wrote about *Cut Piece* two years later: "People went on cutting the parts they do not like of me. Finally there was only the stone remained of me that was in me but they were still not satisfied and wanted to know what it's like in the stone." The melodrama is partly about the reversal of roles: The artist has challenged the audience to act as artists—with all the freedom to express aggressive impulses, among others, that this implies—while she becomes the mere material; but because she is the artist, because the proposition and the situation belong to her, there must have been a tacit struggle for control over the event, its result and its meaning.

Such gestures of cutting or piercing are extreme and discomfiting; the same is true of Matta-Clark's. *Splitting*, painter Susan Rothenberg remembered, "invited you into some very macabre participation." Not surprisingly, he has been described by another fellow artist, John Baldessari, as "both a Minimalist and a Surrealist." A Minimalist is supposed to work in an impersonal manner, but a Surrealist works with dreams and desires; and insofar as he is a sort of Surrealist, there is no escaping the importance of Matta-Clark's family romance. His father was the Chilean-born Surrealist painter Roberto Sebastián Antonio Matta Echaurren, who usually went by the single name of Matta. But the father was mostly absent, having separated from his American wife, Anne Clark, four months after the birth of their twin sons. A high school friend recalled repeated visits to MoMA, "to look at the pictures and the girls. Surrealism was our least favorite." Matta had studied architecture before finding his way as an artist whose work was always concerned with

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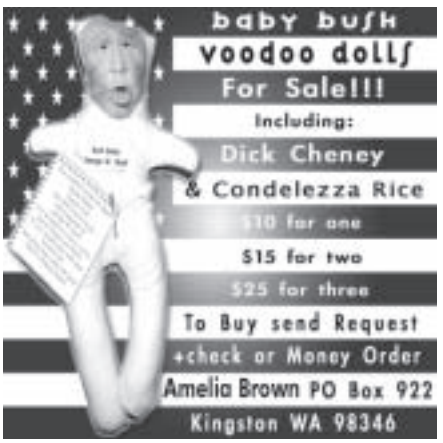

imaginatively disassembling the "Euclidean world" of everyday life; his son would do the same, leaving Cornell with an ingrained disdain for architects and the practice of architecture but an insatiable fascination with buildings.

You'd think showing an artist whose best-known works no longer exist would be a trying exercise for a museum, and seeing it a dry chore for viewers. That this exhibit is so involving is thanks in part to the Whitney's presentation—dense but always lucid—but mainly to the fact that Matta-Clark was nearly incapable of letting anything he touched become visually inert. How to exhibit "dematerialized" conceptual works, ephemeral performances and geographically inaccessible earthworks was a problem that had been confronting artists well before Matta-Clark. "Documentation is fragmentary, incomplete and an inadequate surrogate for the reality of the work, leaving the viewer unequipped to do more than barely comprehend the experience," a critic complained in *Artnews* in 1973. One feels this, too, with many of Matta-Clark's earliest works. And a relic may not be much better than a document. A charred Polaroid from *Photo-Fry*, a performance from 1969, the year Matta-Clark moved to New York City from Ithaca, doesn't really do much more than say, "You had to be there." The metaphor of cooking is recurrent in Matta-Clark's early work; it represents the idea of a sort of alchemical transformation of materials, even if the results were rarely palatable. For instance, he cooked up pots of agar that he would mix with all sorts of organic and nonorganic materials and then ferment and dry in flat trays; he hung the moldy, rumpled results like paintings.

The culmination of Matta-Clark's fascination with cooking was Food, both an art project and a functioning restaurant—the first in SoHo—which he opened in 1971 with a number of artist and dancer friends. No loner, he was always part of a network, a community—well reflected in the catalogue to his first big posthumous exhibition, in Chicago in 1985, whose text (the source of many of my quotes here) is composed largely of interviews with some forty friends and associates, mostly artists. Food was also the beginning of his architectural cuts; while refurbishing the space, one of the team remembered, "Gordon decided to cut himself a wall-sandwich: he cut a horizontal section through the wall and the door and fell in love with it." Also around this time he cut a piece from the wall of his studio and displayed the extract as a sculpture. He then began scouting out abandoned buildings, not hard to find in New York in those days, which he would illegally enter and cut pieces from to retrieve for display. The building fragments shown here, such as those from the 1972–73 *Bronx Floors* series, are surprisingly effective as sculpture, not so much a cross between Minimalism and Surrealism as between Minimalism and kitchen-sink realism—extracted layers of time as well as of materials. And with their multiple layers of wood, linoleum, plaster and so on, they are fragments composed of fragments. Yet the breakthrough (in this context the pun is unavoidable) would be the realization that the void left by the cutting could be even more powerful than the removed material.

But how to show the void? Again, the problem of documentation loomed. For many artists of this time, the solution was to present things in the bluntest, most deadpan way, employing a zero degree of style, with photographs, diagrams and texts deliberately fixed in a bureaucrat's neutrality. Determined to avoid the "aestheticism" they associated with an outmoded form of Modernism, they forgot one of the crucial lessons of modern art: that no medium can ever be transparent. Today, paradoxically, their work displays a distinct period style that can overwhelm its content. Matta-Clark remembered that style and content are inseparable, even in works whose presentation might at first seem to exemplify a pure form of conceptual documentation. For one of his most enigmatic projects, *Reality Properties: Fake Estates*, Matta-Clark purchased at city auctions in 1973 fifteen tiny parcels of land in Queens and Staten Island—leftover spaces between other pieces of land, what he might have thought of as "cuts" in the property system that had been produced by anomalies of the system itself. "The description of them that always excited me the most," the artist told an interviewer, "was 'inaccessible.'" Apparently he never arrived at a definitive arrangement of the material from this project, though it was exhibited in 1974. Still, we can imagine that the simple framed juxtapositions of deeds of sale, maps and black-and-white photographs shown here are much like what Matta-Clark had in mind. They are indices of next to nothing. Whatever one sees merely stands in for the gap the artist is trying to point to. As critic Frances Richard once wrote of an entirely different work of Matta-Clark's, he "enters a glitch that he did not cause but which, in a sense, he creates by noticing." (Later, he stopped noticing, and the city repossessed the lots for nonpayment of taxes—"metabolizing" them, as the artist might have put it.) The documents do not merely re-

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cord what they show; to some extent they produce it, and this is how they differ from works that might otherwise be seen as their immediate precursors, such as another conceptual investigation of New York real estate, Hans Haacke's famous *Shapolsky et al., Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*, which documented a slum empire on the Lower East Side and in Harlem. Haacke, more of a reporter than a poet, was interested in revealing the hidden connections of capital, not (as Matta-Clark was) in an imaginative exploration of its gaps.

With *Splitting* and then with the other, increasingly elaborate and playful sculptural interventions into buildings that followed, most notably in New York, Paris, Antwerp and Chicago, however, Matta-Clark jettisoned the idea of objective documentation. Instead, the actions became subjects for films, videos and photomontages that eschewed the deadpan look of the *Reality Properties* byproducts in favor of lyrical, baroque and elaborate aggregates of imagery that have little to do with the visual prose typical of conceptual art. Instead of simply recording the fact that a sculpture was done, these works are intended to offer, on a smaller scale, a visual equivalent for the bodily experience of exploring the dramatic and disorienting spatial effects that resulted from the building cuts. Few people ever had the full experience of not only peering at these from the outside but actually entering and exploring them. There was risk to life and limb involved; a sometime assistant recalled that Matta-Clark "would start out being very whimsical and then he would get reckless. I was constantly worried about killing people or ourselves." The artist Lawrence Weiner really did fall through one of the works. Only those who were there can judge how accurately the experiences offered by the photomontages correspond to what they saw and felt inside the sculptures. Still, the photographs have an intensity and bravura of their own that can't be gainsaid. They are dizzying, and you do feel like you could fall through them. In the Cibachromes of his last big projects—*Office Baroque* (1977), in Antwerp, and *Circus* or *The Caribbean Orange* (1978), in Chicago—the perspectives become hypnotic, Piranesian. Circular cuts in various directions seem to reveal unexpected layers not only of space but of time. The depicted cuts through floors and walls are doubled by the literal cuts to the constituent bits of film that Matta-Clark has sliced, spliced and blown up. And yet the Conceptualists were extremely suspicious. Weiner saw Matta-Clark's photography as "one of his weaknesses," while Joseph

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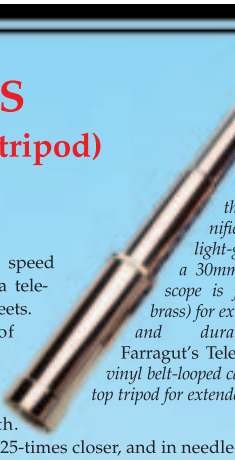

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Kosuth thought that there was a schizophrenic relationship between the two stages of Matta-Clark's work, the buildings and the photos, a problem only compounded by the fact that "the photographs are good."

In the meantime, that division has resolved itself: The buildings have disappeared. *Office Baroque* stood for several years, and after Matta-Clark's death a foundation was formed with the aim of creating a new museum of contemporary art around it, but it was torn down. This loss only makes the remaining traces of it on paper and film the more poignant, yet poignancy was there in all the building cuts from the beginning. "A collapsed room displays many more facets than a room intact," Stokes observed in an essay of 1961, comparing the mingling of inside and outside in the ruined buildings he had observed in the London of the Blitz with the multiplication of aspects displayed by Cubist paintings. The rooms Matta-Clark shows us are neither collapsed nor whole; broken up but holding together, they offer no sense of security but rather of risk and exposure. They evoke anxiety yet transform it into exhilaration. They turn space inside out.

In 1978, at the age of 35, Matta-Clark was suddenly overtaken by pancreatic cancer. An artist's early death can't help but provoke ponderings about what might have come next; but with great artists, the question, perhaps surprisingly, becomes less urgent than with those careers that never quite fulfilled themselves. Who laments Mozart's unwritten forty-second symphony? Matta-Clark, artist of fragments, left an *oeuvre* that feels whole. ■

EVENTS

NATIONAL

2007 URPE Summer Conference

■ Global Migration and the Logic of Capitalism. Friday, August 10, to Monday, August 13. Camp Deer Run, Pine Bush, New York. Register by July 27. Plenaries include: "The Changing Nature of Labor Struggles in the United States," with Brian Callaci, Gwenn Mills and Mark Brenner; "Causes and Consequences of Transnational Migration," with Salimah Valiani, Alex Julca and others TBA; and the David Gordon Lecture ("Radical Economics and Social Change Movements: Strengthening the Links Between Academics and Activists"), by Jim Stanford. And lots of other workshops! Camp Deer Run, located at the foot of the Shawangunk Mountains, provides opportunities for swimming, basketball, volleyball, badminton and hiking. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806. Visit our website: www.urpe.org.

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John Pilger and Amy Goodman

■ *Freedom Next Time*: An evening with John Pilger and Amy Goodman. Thursday, June 7, 7 PM. The New School, Tishman Auditorium, 66 West 12th Street. Admission: $5. Tickets: (212) 229-5488 or boxoffice@newschool.edu. In a rare New York appearance, award-winning journalist and filmmaker John Pilger will discuss his new book *Freedom Next Time: Resisting the Empire* (Nation Books) with Amy Goodman, host of the Pacifica radio show *Democracy Now!* They will consider Iraq, Palestine, India, South Africa and the island of Diego Garcia, where the long struggle for freedom has taken place but the dream is yet to be realized. A book signing will follow the event. Sponsored by The New School, the Center for Economic Research and Social Change, and The Nation Institute, with support from the Wallace Global Fund.

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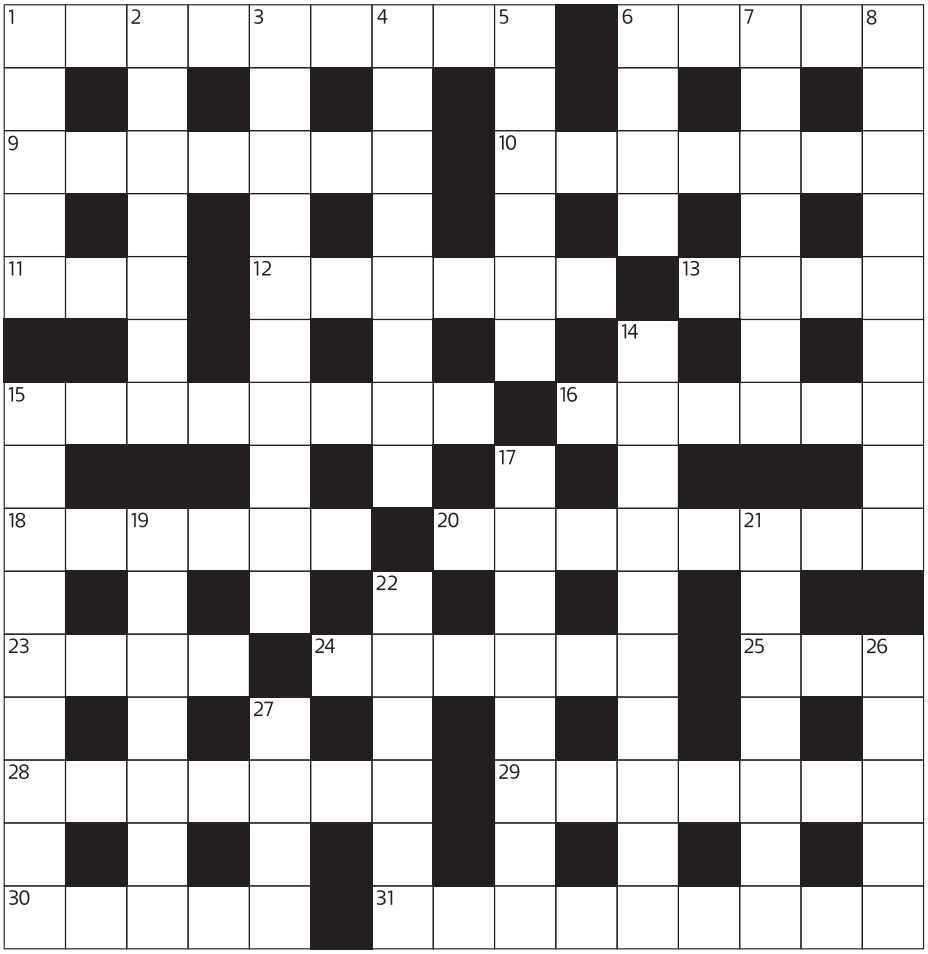
PUZZLE NO. 3086

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Nobody's looking if you are! (9)

6 Pi might be a good example of it or a different version. (5)

9 What your old computer might require—and the Queen has a point, as you can see. (7)

10 Pots for cooking chickens, too! (7)

11 and **12** Is it revolutionary what Huck did coming down the river, getting written up more than once? (9)

13 Quit coming back, as you will see in 10. (4)

15 No special place in the year when you get it confused. (8)

16 Topic is confused after nothing but more than one sea creature. (6)

18 He must have loved explaining that everything is obvious! (Sounds like good places to live.) (6)

20 A tree grows where some players were said to be the evasive type. (8)

23 Flo's companions, one hears. (4)

24 In Lilliput, school is seen as an illegal takeover. (6)

25 A weaselly sound? Get a bit of soda for it. (3)

28 Popular hen, like one who sets the tiles straight. (7)

29 Inspiring with feelings because it's a sort of mini-bug? (7)

30 A large number, commonly, but not the upright type. (5)

31 Signaled that what goes on top, for certain people, made a friendly canine gesture. (3-6)

DOWN

1 and **15** Falling a bit short of what you expect? (5-9)

2 Traditionally Monday shows there is some method about a wild dash for it. (7)

3 Where priestly rulers might be showing the one of Triumph, that is, has a point. (10)

4 Hold everything! Keep something in suspense, and sack the end. (4,4)

5 Given a title when sound is added. (6)

6 Complain loudly, but when you travel you might go by it. (4)

7 Does the air have a bit of wiggle when you put this on? (7)

8 The one by Lloyd Douglas was magnificent! (9)

14 One doesn't like to get high with it. (10)

15 See 1

17 At the rail type, you might see a sign to look out for the cars. (8)

19 Part of the ear? If you do you're not well brought up with it—but it's pretty! (7)

21 Getting around one more time than the other guy, and drinking like a beast! (7)

22 A line-up of sealskin and mink to be plowed through? (6)

26 You can't say a book isn't called for! (5)

27 No longer quick if one did, you hear—but the villain might be said to be deep with it. (4)

PUZZLED? No more cross words! See www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3085

U	T	O	P	I	A	N	S	■	F	A	M	I	L	Y
P	■	S	■	L	■	U	■	C	■	P	■	N	■	E
B	U	C	K	L	E	D	■	A	L	A	B	A	M	A
R	■	A	■	U	■	I	■	L	■	R	■	U	■	S
A	C	R	E	S	■	S	K	I	N	T	I	G	H	T
I	■	■	■	I	■	T	■	C	■	■	■	U	■	Y
D	I	T	T	O	■	S	P	O	N	S	O	R	S	■
S	■	A	■	N	■	■	■	■	■	I	■	A	■	W
■	D	I	A	S	P	O	R	A	■	D	E	L	V	E
V	■	L	■	■	■	N	■	L	■	E	■	■	■	L
I	N	S	U	L	T	I	N	G	■	T	O	W	E	L
C	■	P	■	O	■	O	■	E	■	R	■	I	■	A
T	U	I	T	I	O	N	■	B	O	A	R	D	E	D
I	■	N	■	N	■	S	■	R	■	C	■	O	■	A
M	I	S	U	S	E	■	W	A	L	K	A	W	A	Y

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Advertisement

LIVING INDEPENDENTLY

Who's Making Sure Mom is Safe?

Smart technology from QuietCare® lets Seniors Stay Safe…and Stay in Their Home!

No buttons to push.
No pendant to wear–It's a fact, most seniors want to remain independent and live in their own home. But doing so safely can be a challenge, particularly if a senior lives alone or has medical concerns. Family members, even if living nearby, cannot be there or "on call" all the time. Now, there is a great new solution that lets them choose independence and safety: QuietCare.

The QuietCare system provides non-intrusive 24/7 coverage that helps seniors maintain a safe, independent lifestyle. This amazing system uses wireless activity sensors to detect certain situations that are out-of-the-ordinary and might constitute an emergency. QuietCare's patented, proven technology "learns" living patterns over time and establishes a baseline of daily activities including meal preparation, overall activity level and sleep. This system automatically sends for help for possible bathroom falls, lack of morning activity or extreme household temperatures, even if the senior cannot call for help on their own. Alerts are received by the QuietCare emergency response operators who will call the senior and, if needed, notify designated family members, caregivers, or local emergency services.

All wireless system is networked to a central monitoring station.

How Chimney Smoke Led to QuietCare®…

Dr. Anthony Glascock once met a man in Ireland. This man lived across the valley from an aging friend. Every morning, he'd look across, and if he saw smoke coming from the chimney, he knew his friend was ok and going about his daily routine. If he saw no smoke, he'd pedal his bike around and check in. Returning to Philadelphia, Dr. Glascock turned to his colleague, fellow gerontologist, Dr. David M. Kutzik, to help him create a system for caregivers to discreetly check in on seniors in order to detect situations that are out of the ordinary and may require attention…

The result: **QuietCare.**

QuietCare is designed to answer questions like:

- Did Dad get up in the morning?
- Is there a possibility that Mom has fallen in the bathroom?
- Is Dad preparing his meals regularly?
- Has Dad remembered to take his medication?
- Is Dad getting less active during the day?
- Is Mom's home too hot or too cold?

How QuietCare works. In the home, QuietCare's sensors report activity from key areas such as the bedroom, bathroom and kitchen. No cameras are used, preserving privacy, and no action is required from the senior. Operators call if they receive an emergency alert. Should you wish, you can view QuietCare's activity reports and alerts on a secure, password-protected web site at any time.

"A few months ago my mother forgot to take her medication and it turned into a life-threatening situation. But once we had QuietCare installed we both got our confidence back. Thank you. I would recommend it to anyone with a parent who loves their independence"
— J.D. - Michigan *QuietCare client*

QuietCare makes sense for independent seniors, their family members, and caregivers. Call today and find out how this remarkable system can provide peace of mind.

Free no obligation information call or click today

1-866-905-8324

www.QuietCare.com

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